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Basilicae Sancti Macarii
Aberdonensis

THE HERALDIC CEILING

OF THE

CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. MACHAR

OLD ABERDEEN

DESCRIBED

IN HISTORICAL AND ARMORIAL DETAIL

BY

WILLIAM DUGUID GEDDES, LL.D.

AND

PETER DUGUID

ABERDEEN

Printed for the New Spalding Club

MDCCCLXXXVIII

TK

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Monograph which is now submitted to the Members of the New Spalding Club is an attempt to describe and to portray an historical monument of more than mere local interest and importance—the Heraldic Ceiling of the Cathedral Church of St. Machar in Old Aberdeen. It is to this monument that Dr. Joseph Robertson, the most eminent of our recent antiquaries, alludes with pride, when he characterises it as "the flat ceiling of pannelled oak which still remains, with its eight-and-forty shields, glittering with the heraldries of the Pope, the Emperor, St. Margaret, the Kings and Princes of Christendom, the Bishops and Earls of Scotland,"* all dedicated to God as the King of kings, and so proclaiming—

The shields of the earth belong unto the Lord—

rich, therefore, with the blazons of "Kings, Princes, Prelates, Potentates, and Peers".

The work now issued endeavours to deal with this monument—its history and its heraldry; and it falls accordingly into two sections—one the historical and descriptive part, the other the heraldic and technical part—for each of which a separate author is responsible.

Regarding the Latin heading on the title-page, it is right to remark that this title has been adopted in imitation of the interesting volume regarding a kindred and coeval monu-

* *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxv., p. 141.

ment, the *Lacunar Striveliense.** This latter work treats of a contemporary, and in some respects parallel, work of art in civil architecture, which, though it has now perished,† may be considered no less characteristic of Scotland in the period immediately preceding the Reformation than is the monument in ecclesiastical architecture which forms the subject of this Monograph. In the roof of the hall of Stirling Palace, and dating from about 1529, there existed a series, not indeed of shields, but of medallions, carved in oak, representing in some instances real persons, in others fanciful and allegorical figures, but all designed and carved in a high style of art, and from the same period of Scottish history as that to which our monument belongs. These medallions are now displaced and scattered, having been allowed to be broken up in 1777, and the volume to which we refer preserves all that is now known of what must have been a unique display at once of the taste and the magnificence of our Scottish Kings, and specially of the King whose armorial shield is blazoned in the Heraldic Roof of Old Aberdeen. We shall find that this same King (James V.) had among the northern bishops of his realm a prelate like-

* The title is more fully: *Lacunar Striveliense; the Collection of Heads Etched and Engraved from the Roof of the Hall in Stirling Palace:* Edinburgh, 4to, 1817. An interesting review of it, at the time of its publication, appears in Blackwood's *Magazine* (vol. ii., Nov., 1817), from the pen of Tytler the Historian. R. G. Billings refers to the roof at Stirling as follows: "The ceiling was of massive oak, arranged in deep richly moulded compartments, each of which served as a frame for a piece of oaken sculpture, generally a head, raised in cameo" (Town of Stirling, in vol. iv. of Billings's *Architecture of Scotland*).

† Much has been said and written of the ruin of so many of the old Scottish Cathedrals. It is open to doubt whether the Palaces of the Scottish Kings have fared in any respect better, so many of them presenting a spectacle of woe. Falkland, Linlithgow, and Stirling are monuments of our callousness to the national honour, which the partial preservation of Holyrood barely palliates.

minded, who in his measure was equally, and perhaps more wisely, munificent and enlightened in the encouragement of art and in the adornment of architecture, and who has certainly been more fortunate than his sovereign in the better preservation of the more prominent of his artistic memorials.*

This prelate was Bishop Gavin Dunbar, to whom, among many other artistic labours, it was a delight, in the words of the poet—

> "To raise the ceiling's fretted height,
> Each panel in achievements clothing";

and it must have been from a sense of the value of such memorials, as well as with an eye to posthumous renown, that he sought to surround his name and See with artistic trophies of distinction.†

The illustrations representing the shields have been executed by Messrs. Andrew Gibb & Co., Aberdeen, and will be

* Greatly as we deplore the treatment which has been given for centuries to Bishop Dunbar's tomb—once no doubt radiant with harmonious colour, and still, we may say—apart from the monuments of the Douglases at Lincluden—without any just rival on this side of the Cheviots in tasteful splendour, notwithstanding its exposure in the now roofless transept—we may rejoice that Time has spared so much of the other relics associated with his name. In this regard we may recall, by way of consolation, the words of Prescott when describing the much sorer dilapidation that has befallen the contemporary Church of St. Juste, in Spain, where the once great Emperor, whose insignia Dunbar emblazoned, ended his days.

"Without, the touch of decay is upon everything. The church still stands, but the delicately carved wood-work of the choir, and the beautiful tiles that adorned the walls, have fallen from their places, or been torn away by the hand of violence. All around, the ground is covered with the wreck of former splendours, with fallen columns and shattered arches. . . . Yet even here kind Nature has been busy, as usual, in covering up the ravages of time and violence, spreading over them her rich embroidery of wild-flowers, and clothing the ghastly skeleton in a robe of beauty" (Prescott's *Charles V.*, ii., p. 632).

† The feeling thus ascribed to Dunbar regarding Art is akin to that expressing itself in regard to the Muse by the poet Spenser:

> "What booteth it to have been rich alive?
> What to be great? What to be gracious?
> When after death no token doth survive

found faithful copies of the various shields. They are reproductions of the beautiful hand-drawings in colour which were carefully executed by the late Mr. Andrew Gibb, and are now collected in an interesting MS. volume, belonging to his family, the product of much labour, ingenuity, and taste. It was during the process of restoration of the interior of the Cathedral, in the year 1867, that Mr. Andrew Gibb had the opportunity of examining minutely and reproducing closely the different shields emblazoned in the Heraldic Roof.

In regard to the heraldic accuracy of the shields, as exhibited on the Ceiling, little doubt need be entertained. Along with Mr. Gibb were associated, as a heraldic *collegium* or committee of restoration, the late Principal P. C. Campbell and George Burnett, Esq., Lyon King of Arms. Either of the latter two names is sufficient guarantee for the substantial accuracy, as well as for the faithful reproduction of the details of the heraldic representation on the roof of the Cathedral.

To the name of the late Principal Campbell a special tribute of acknowledgment is due, not only for the great trouble and pains he bestowed, in the year 1867, on the

Of former beeing in this mortall houss,
But sleepes in dust dead and inglorious,
Like beast, whose breath but in his nostrils is,
And hath no hope of happinesse or blis.

"How manie great ones may remembred be,
Which in their daies most famouslie did flourish;
Of whom no word we heare, nor signe now see,
But as things wipt out with a sponge do perishe,
Because they living cared not to cherishe
No gentle wits, through pride or covetise,
Which might their names for ever memorise."

—Spenser's "Ruins of Time".

details of the entire restoration, both heraldic and structural, but also for the excellent little sketch, which he composed at the time, and contributed to the *Herald and Genealogist* (vol. v., p. 9), giving an account of the Roof and the three series of Shields. This sketch, which consists of only a few pages, contains figured illustrations of *ten* out of the forty-eight shields, and forms a valuable nucleus which has been found useful for the construction of the present work.

It may serve to indicate the amount of historic interest that lies folded up in this group of ancient blazonries, if we mention two incidents bearing on their historical importance. The late Dean Stanley, whom we had the pleasure of escorting some years ago over the building, was greatly charmed with the spectacle of such a monument as having come down from the period of the Unity of Western Christendom. In running over the hierarchic roll—commencing with the six *palle*, or Balls of the Medici—his eyes glistened with delight at what he justly considered the strange spectacle of a Pope's Arms remaining emblazoned on the roof of what is now a Presbyterian Church. Turning round with a smile, the Dean remarked that Scotland had not shown itself so fiercely "iconoclastic" as was generally supposed.

The other incident belongs to a more distant age, but it is of considerable historic value. The famous historian of the Earldom of Sutherland, Sir Robert Gordon, who flourished nearly two centuries and a half ago, has occasion to deal with the question of precedence among the Scottish Earls, and in settling the place of the Earl of Sutherland, the leading argu-

ment to which he makes appeal is the evidence furnished by the roof of what he calls the "Cathedrall Church of Aberdeen".*

On the general subject of "the boast of Heraldry" with its "pomp of power," a few passing remarks may not be inappropriate, in order that we may form a right estimate of the surviving value which it may be said still to retain to the modern mind.

The last century expressed its relation to Heraldry in the characteristic jibe which fell from the lips of Lord Chesterfield, addressed to the "Garter" of the day: "You foolish man, you don't understand your own foolish business"; but more severe things have been uttered since that period, and in unexpected quarters. Two of our greatest historians acknowledge, but in a sarcastic way, the fascination of the Heraldic science. Gibbon, in his autobiography, likens it to a kind of superior Totemism of the Red Indians, and Hallam calls it "the science of those fantastic people who believe in no other form of science". These are jibes which do not affect the *historical* value of the Heraldic science as illustrating the period when Heraldry was still in the ascendant, as it was in the age to which the Heraldic Roof belongs. Though later than the high and palmy time of the "Noble Science," which may be said to have culminated about the age of Froissart, or that of Edward III., this heraldic display in St. Machar's Church is ancient enough to mark the period when armorial shields were still realities, among the weapons

* "You may see, in the Cathedrall Church of Aberdeen, the noblemen of Scotland ranked in order upon the sylerin of the rooff of the bodie of the Church, wher the Earle of Southerland is placed befor Crawfoord, Huntlie, Argile, Errol, and Marshall" (Sir Robert Gordon's *Genealogy of the Earls of Sutherland*, p. 55; Edinb., 1813).

to be worn in tournament, if not in the tented field,* and bore in no metaphorical sense the dint of hostile spears. It is true that changes were already at work, including "villainous saltpetre," producing that revolution in the methods of warfare which eventually obscured, if it did not obliterate, this among the other "glorious circumstances" attaching to it in the period of chivalry. But although Heraldry, as a system, was already (in 1520) past its prime, the subject of Heraldry had still a great meaning, so that it is no paradox to assert that the "Noble Science" is, for that period, no mere antiquarian frivolity, but an important branch of historical knowledge. In regard to the Middle Ages, it is a branch more than important, it is *essential*, in order to obtain a proper understanding of the Europe of the Crusading and Feudal periods, whereof heraldic blazon may be said to have been the bloom and flower. The fair fantasies therefore may perhaps, as a subject of study, long survive, having in fact survived the attacks of two of their principal enemies—Ridicule and Taxation; for they exert a spell that fascinated not only the aristocratic Walter Scott,† but the democratic Robert Burns,‡ a spell

* An almost contemporary Record (anno 1513; see *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Sp. Cl., p. 87) justifies this statement as to actual use of the *shield* in the warfare of Gavin Dunbar's time. The Burgesses are required to appear at call, "ilk an havand ane speir, ane bow, and ane *targe*". See also Hall's *Chronicles* in the full account of the nearly contemporary knightly pageantry (anno 1525) under Henry VIII. (Nott's *Memoirs* of Sir Thomas Wyatt, p. 9).

† Sir Walter can no doubt, upon occasion, indulge in a jest at the pedantries of Heraldry, as in the Baron's maunderings (*Waverley*, ch. iv.).

‡ Burns, as is well known, amused himself by composing what must be admitted to be an appropriate and delicious coat of arms, developed in full heraldic nomenclature, a remarkable proof of the depth and variety of his information (Letter to Allan Cunningham, March, 1793; Seton's *Scottish Heraldry*, p. 161.)

to which the sparkling Montaigne * and the universal Shakspere † himself yielded no vague homage. The extent, indeed, to which the language of Heraldry has coloured indelibly the speech and imagery of English literature will render it expedient for even superficial students of our literature to obtain a passing acquaintance with heraldic terms and conceptions. The Poet-Laureate, for example, though he foreshadows the time when shields will probably, in a democratic world, cease to be,‡ is in danger of becoming partially unintelligible, unless a remnant

* The ever delightful Michel condescends to note, in his *Travels*, the arms at Domremy, the village of Joan of Arc—those arms which were assigned to her *descendants* ennobled by the French king. These Montaigne details with the precision of a professed Herald: "Azur à un espée droite couronnée et poignée d'or, et deux fleurs-de-lis d'or au côte de la dite espée" (*Voyages* de Montaigne, i., p. 18). The Seigneur's account of his own arms, described with some minuteness, is found in the *Essais*, Livr. i. 46, where he adds, with insight into the *vanitas vanitatum* of this among all human things: "What privilege to continue particularly in my house and name? A son-in-law will transport it into another family, or some paltry purchaser will make them his first Arms; there is nothing wherein there is more change and confusion."

† Of Shakspere's attitude to Heraldry, take as a specimen the indignant words of Bolingbroke, how, among the insults to him, his foes have—

"From my own windows torn my household coat,
Razed out my impress, *leaving me no sign*
To show the world I am a gentleman".

—"Richard II.," Act III., Sc. 1.

The obverse is found in the passage of the first scene of the "Merry Wives," where the poet pokes immortal fun at the "dozen white louses on an old coat"—a juvenile joke, against the "luces" of the Lucy family, from his own Warwickshire.

‡ The keen eye of Edmund Burke discerned long ago the risk to the "Noble Science," and the danger then looming in the near distance from the French Revolution, when "with a view to their great experiment on human society the Assembly abolished all titles of honour, all armorial bearings, and even the insignificant titles of Monsieur and Madame" (Scott's *Life of Napoleon*, ch. 6). Speaking of the qualities of the Duke of Bedford, who had assailed him, and who favoured the French democrats of the time, Burke flashes out in the famous invective: "I would willingly leave him to the heralds' college, which the philosophy of the *sans-culottes* (prouder by far than all the Garters, and Norroys, and Clarencieux, and Rouge Dragons, that ever pranced in any procession of what his friends call aristocrats and despots) will abolish with contumely and scorn". The whole passage is interesting, as a severe verdict on the too easy Diplomas that are or were won by mere wealth in the mild school of Heraldry.

survive acquainted with the "mysteries" at which he smiles benignly.*

There is one other observation of a general kind that we here offer, and with which we would close these prefatory remarks, namely this, that not only the antiquary or the curious-minded herald may derive from the historical monument here described material for his purposes, but the patriotic citizen will find a new interest in our Scottish nationality. The whole style and conception of the Heraldic Roof shows that it is a monument thoroughly national. It proceeds upon the idea that Scotland has an independent existence, and takes her place in the array of nations as, in her own right, a sovereign power. The lion rampant is, *in his own domain*, imperial, and is represented here under the *arched*, and therefore imperial, crown. He is accordingly placed here in the first rank, in line with the ensigns of Pope and Emperor. It is true that the Scottish Church is depicted as owning allegiance to the See of Rome, but no trace of the subjection, that seemed imminent at one period of our history, to the See of York and sometimes of Canterbury, is here discernible. Every Scotsman who surveys this historical memorial ought to feel a new pride in the lion rampant, as being "the noble creature in its noblest posture,"† here felicitously displayed.

* The passage referred to, deserving close study, is that in "Merlin and Vivien": "Azure, an eagle rising or, the sun in dexter chief". Compare also Tennyson's attitude to "achievements" in "Aylmer's Field," &c., &c. The same remark applies to Thackeray's sarcastic shield of the Southdown family, "three lambs trottant *argent*," &c. (*Vanity Fair*), the humour of which only a Herald can appreciate.

† On the irrefragable authority of the Baron of Bradwardine (*Waverley*, ch. xi.).—Guillim anticipates the Baron, p. 116, averring that the attitude of any Lion as Rampant betokens "their *most noble* and *fierce action*".—See Dunbar's *Thistle and the Rose*, where the "Lyone" of Scotland is described as—

It is hoped that the publication of this volume in the New Spalding Club Series will not only preserve the record and the interpretation of an interesting, yet perishable, historical monument,* but tend in some degree to augment the growing interest now being felt in such local historic studies.

In conclusion, it is proper to acknowledge the excellent services rendered by various gentlemen during the progress of our investigations and while the book was passing through the press. We have to record most hearty thanks to George Burnett, Esq., LL.D., Lyon King of Arms, who has taken a deep personal as well as official interest in the Heraldic section of the work. Justice requires us also gratefully to mention the names of Charles Elphinstone Dalrymple, Esq., of Kinellar Lodge; Archibald Hamilton Dunbar, Esq., younger of Northfield; and P. J. Anderson, Esq., the excellent Secretary of the Club.

Lastly, a special tribute of acknowledgment is due to the distinguished Artist, who has done so much for the name and fame of his native city Aberdeen—George Reid, Esq., R.S.A. —whose admirable sketches must be regarded as enhancing in no small degree the artistic value of the volume now submitted to the Club.

W. D. G.
P. D.

ABERDEEN, *November*, 1888.

"*Reid* of his cullour, as is the ruby glance;
On feild of *gold* he stude full mychtely,
With 'flour delycis' sirculit [*encircled*] lustely."

* "Quis est enim quem non moveat clarissimis monumentis testata consignataque Antiquitas?" (Cic.). The *insigne paternum* of the Virgilian warrior (*Æn.*, vii. 657) shows how near an approach the Ancients made to the hereditary character of Heraldry. See treatise of Ernst Curtius in the Berlin Academy (1874), where he says: "Im Orient gab es nur dynastische, priesterliche und Privat Wappen; Gemeindewappen finden wir erst in der Hellenischen Welt". "In the East there were only Arms (Devices) for *Dynasties*, *Priests*, and *Individuals*; it is in the Hellenic world that we first find Arms for *Communities*."

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THE HERALDIC CEILING OF THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. MACHAR, OLD ABERDEEN.

PART I.

HISTORICAL SECTION.

THE HERALDIC CEILING OF THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. MACHAR, OLD ABERDEEN.

PART I.

HISTORICAL SECTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE CATHEDRAL AND ITS SURROUNDINGS.

Reliquias veterumque vides monumenta virorum.—VIRGIL.

BEFORE proceeding to the more immediate subject of our investigation—the historic import of the Heraldic Ceiling of the Cathedral in Old Aberdeen—it is necessary to take a preliminary survey of the site and scene, and of the general surroundings and architectural character of the building, of which it forms internally the most conspicuous ornament.

Aberdeen, as is well known, is the largest city of Scotland north of the bisecting line of the Grampians, and consequently may be said to be the capital of the northern or Transgrampian portion of the Scottish kingdom. At the beginning of the present century, our city stood third among the cities of Scotland, and this position it still retains among the University cities; but owing to the recent sudden rise of its southern rival, Dundee, which has now come to stand next to Glasgow and Edinburgh in respect of population, Aberdeen has been displaced from the position which it formerly occupied, so that it now ranks only fourth among the centres of Scottish population. Time was, however, when Aberdeen stood still higher in the scale, and could claim to be, in a manner, the second of the Scottish Burghs, inferior in political importance only to Edinburgh.*

* Besides the Royal Tressure which it boasts in the "City Arms"—a remarkable and, among cities, almost unique distinction—Aberdeen possesses claims to high rank among the Scottish towns, and, in more than one particular, is historically second only to Edinburgh. Without referring to the existing honour of its being the capital of the sole county in Scotland where Royalty has a stated residence, the student of history and of literature cannot fail to remember that it belongs to the county where the patriot king of Scotland gained his first clear victory (Inverurie), leading, with unbroken success, ultimately to Bannockburn, and that in literature the same county stands pre-eminent for the double honour (1) of having produced

In the period of the Covenant, it is tolerably certain that the relative rank and position of Aberdeen may be so described; for besides being superior to any Scottish city in the array of its learned men,* it was, next to Edinburgh, the great pivot of the early movements of both of the contending parties at that important era; and although Glasgow shares the prominence of the capital as the scene of the first manifestations of that struggle, the historical development of the contest

the oldest existing literary document penned on Scottish soil, standing at the head of the National MSS. of Scotland, viz., the *Book of Deer*, and (2) of owning among its sons the "Homer" of Scottish literature, the poet Barbour, who, "in his poem of the *Bruce*, determined the character of modern Scottish, and cast it in a permanent mould, just as his contemporary Chaucer did for our English language" (Prof. Earle). But apart from these distinctions, there are grounds more relative than these: viz., (1) in the Pictish period, according to John Major, who wrote A.D. 1521, "Aberdeen was the Regia or royal city of the Scots" (*Book of Bon-Accord*, p. 102); (2) since the original Scotia, as a kingdom localised in our island, and apart from older Irish associations, extended from "the Firth of Forth (the Scots-water) to Spey," Aberdeen lay near the centre of the kingdom so defined, and thus shared with Dunfermline and Perth the honour of being the royal residence, whence we hear, once and again, in the pre-Stewart time, how the king "kept Yule in Aberdeen". This last, be it remarked, was the normal occurrence at a time when Edinburgh belonged not to Scotland, but to Lothian, which was originally a province of Northumbria, and when Glasgow lay outside Scotland, and was included in the Cumbrian kingdom of Strathclyde. The evidence for the above historic fact is complete, and nothing could be better ascertained than that there was a time when Edinburgh and Glasgow were not Scottish, but became so by annexation, and at that period Aberdeen was the centre of the annexing kingdom. See Proclamations of King David I. (1124-53), where the official style runs: "To his subjects in Scotland *and* Lothian" (per regnum suum in Scotia *et* Lodonia). Compare Cosmo Innes, in his Preface to the *Acts of Parliament of Scotland* (vol. i., p. 4), where he defines the boundaries of "Scotland proper" as "from Forth to Spey," in contradistinction to "Cumbria, Lothian, Moray," and the appanages which "Scotia" acquired. Still more fully in Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i., p. 6; iii., pp. 2, 3; in one of which passages we have the following: "These districts" [viz., the region from Forth to Spey] "formed the real nucleus and heart of the kingdom, and were more directly associated with her monarchs as kings of the Scots". It was this region—the unconquered CALEDONIA of Galgacus—of which Aberdeen may be said to be the centre, that constituted the real "Scotia," which never owned fealty or shadow of homage to the English king.—It is, therefore, worthy of note that the New Spalding Club, in choosing as its territory the region from Ness to Tay, has chosen a field of operation nearly conterminous with the "Scotia" of the pre-Stewart period.

* Compare Parson Gordon of Rothiemay (*Scots Affairs*, p. 243), on Learning in Aberdeen in 1640, which is the era of the "Aberdeen doctors" referred to by Clarendon: "Thes eminent divynes of Aberdeen were either deade, deposed, or banished; in whom fell *more Learning than was left behynde in all Scotlande besyde at that tyme.* Nor has that cittye, *nor any cittye* in Scotland ever since, seene so many learned devynes and scollers at one tyme together, as wer immediately befor this in Aberdeen."

assumed more numerous and more various phases in Aberdeen than in any other Scottish town.

As the City of the Two Rivers, it is flanked by the sister streams of Dee and Don, each of which is spanned at no great distance by an ancient bridge, dating from pre-Reformation times. Each of these very notable structures owes its origin to the munificence and public spirit of ancient prelates of the See. The city consists of two Burghs, each resting on its own river: the one the Royal Burgh of Aberdeen, populous, busy, and commercial; the other the Episcopal Burgh of Barony of Old Aberdeen,* quiet, sombre, and secluded.† It is with the latter that we have now to deal, as it contains the historic monument which is to engage our attention.

As the traveller wends his way toward the Cathedral from the town of Aberdeen, he passes first the College in Old Aberdeen, and then, at some distance, arrives in view of the Cathedral, two buildings of nearly coeval antiquity in their most important remains, fortunate at once in their society and in their solitude. It is in the most distant and sequestered part of Old Aberdeen that the Cathedral is situated, in a part of the town still known by the name of the Chanonry,‡ where had been gathered, in old time, the residences of the

* On the 21st August, 1498, Bishop Elphinston obtained a Crown Charter erecting Old Aberdeen into a City and University and Burgh of Barony (*Registr. Episc. Aberd.*, Sp. Cl., i., p. xlv., Text of Deed, in vol. ii., p. 303; also Orem, p. 81).

† The following quaint picture of the two towns in their mutual contrast, as given three centuries ago, is worth transcribing. It gives the palm of beauty *then* to the Old Town. "In Marr lyes Abirdine a famous citie, in a maner in twa partes dividet, to wit, in ane alde toune, and ane new toune, and betwene the twa a feild put; bot on that syd, quhair foundet ar the Bischopis Cathedral, the Channounis honorable houses, the almous house or Hospital of the pure, and that ancient Academie and universitie of renoune, is *mekle mair illustre and beutiful to behalde*, than the othir, quhais decore cheiflie does consiste in nobilitie of gentle men and merchandes and deidis of civilitie" (Father Dalrymple's Translation of Bishop Leslie's *History of Scotland*, p. 49, Scottish Text Soc.). The same contrasted character of the two towns is thus expressed in the distich of John Leitch, 1620 (p. 48, *Book of Bon-Accord*):

"Qua geminæ, in geminis surgentes vallibus, Urbes,
Mercibus hæc, Musis clarior illa suis".

‡ The name Chanonry is interesting as showing traces of the French influence exerted, as is well known, so powerfully upon our vernacular. The French *chanoine*, rather than the English *canon*, has been at work in shaping this local name. It occurs also in connection with the Cathedral of Fortrose, where, in the old diocese of Ross, the name still designates, not inappropriately, a presbytery in Easter Ross.

canons, as in a cathedral close, such as we know of in cathedral towns in England. Rising above the surrounding dwellings, among its sheltering elms, is found the edifice of the granite Cathedral—unique in regard to its material among our Scottish cathedrals, and with no adequate parallel as a structure in that respect nearer than Brittany —a great torso of what once had been, majestic still in its massive grandeur, and predominating, as was said of stately Kelso, "like some antique Titan over the dwarfs of a later world". Both externally and internally the style is seen to be of the severest Gothic type, with some singular reversions to the round arch and rounded pier of the Norman. A happy instinct as to what was possible in such obdurate material as the granite, under the instruments and appliances of those days, seems to have presided over the construction, and guided the architects of the time to the wise conviction that it was hopeless to contend with the cathedrals of the South in variety and finish of floral decoration, and that they must find some other source of architectural nobleness. Hence they recognised their task to be the production of a broad and grand effect by the grouping of simple masses without elaboration, under the feeling that what was possible with the soft and light freestone of other more favoured districts, such as Morayshire, was not possible with the hard and heavy granite of Aberdeenshire; and hence, also, they relinquished any ambitious aspiration after stone-vaulting over a broad nave, such as had to be dealt with in the great cathedrals of the South. It is possibly to this latter inability that we owe the heraldic blazoning. For the roof of the nave came thus to be treated as a flat surface, and hence the space of this surface had to be lighted up by appropriate decoration; whence the origin of this, the chief ornament of the Cathedral.

Of this once great edifice many portions have disappeared; the choir, with apse and chancel, if indeed these parts were ever fully finished, has entirely vanished;* the central tower, now known only from views in old engravings, has passed away; the transepts remain only in outline of their foundations, sufficient to show the contour of the space which they enclosed; but the nave is still entire, with its seven-lighted western window, which, flanked by its two guardian

* Neither Lady Chapel nor Crypt seems to have existed. A *capitulum* or Chapter is often mentioned, but no "Chapter-house" is now discernible.

towers, forms a western front of wonderful symmetry, strength, and dignity, in harmonious combination.

These twin towers strike the eye of the stranger as being peculiarly massive, almost stern in their simplicity. The apex or spire of each is evidently on a different design and projection from that of the base or lower portion,* which is severe and grim, like the keep of a feudal castle rather than the base of a cathedral tower; and this castellated† appearance is further heightened by the bold corbelling of the parapet, the battlements of which suggest, as does also the castellated tower of Dunblane, the pathway where the armed warder paces in times of unrest or danger and turmoil. Our English friends, in visiting the Cathedral, are found very generally to advert to this feature, which they at once seize upon, not unnaturally, as an evidence of our warlike tendencies or insecure social conditions in the ancient days. Be this as it may, the contrast architecturally between the upper and the lower portions of these towers is distinctly noticeable. The apex of each is composed of freestone, in marked yet not inharmonious contrast with the granite of the lower portion, and it is curious to observe that, the moment we reach the freestone, the treatment becomes more free, and bursts out, as it were, into a flowering of finials and other ornaments of a decorated kind. The freestone apex of each tower is pyramidal, consisting of three cap-like sections, divided by broad ribs or dividing bands, and diminishing to a point; and the tradition is that Gavin Dunbar, the Bishop who built this part, wanted to suggest or image forth in stone the triple crown or tiara of the Papal See.‡ It is known that this Bishop was himself a native of Moray, and brought with him from that county of rich freestone a native taste for ornamental decoration. The same Bishop was also the erector of the heraldic roof, and it is therefore to Gavin Dunbar that we owe both these ornaments, so that he may be said to have left his impress not less on the external than on the internal aspect of the Cathedral.§

* The lower or granite portion was built by Bishop Henry Lichton, who died in 1440.

† In Avila, in the uplands of Old Castile, there is a granite cathedral with similar features, "towers showing machicolation," a combination of church and fortress (Ford's *Handbook to Spain*).

‡ Kennedy's *Annals of Aberdeen*, ii., pp. 340, 344.

§ Boece, in his unfinished life of Bishop Dunbar (whose demise in 1532 he did not record, though he himself lived to 1536), speaks as if the roof was in progress in his own time.

The Bishop's palace lay east of the Cathedral, but not a vestige of it remains; and the old alms-house or bede-house, which was erected by the same Gavin Dunbar, and of which views remain in old engravings, where it is seen outside the churchyard on the west side, has also perished. Notwithstanding the absence of these two doubtless once picturesque companions, the Cathedral still strikes the stranger as happy in its surroundings; but the full beauty and aptness of the situation are not discerned until we pass to the north side of the building, and perceive the fine and commanding elevation on which it stands above the valley of the neighbouring Don.* At a little distance, and at a level far underneath, we can there perceive the beautiful bend of that river, which is seen suddenly turning northward, and then rolling away behind a screen of trees toward the dark gorge from which it emerges at the bridge well known in story, the Brig o' Balgownie. The relation of the Cathedral to the river, where it forms this loop or bend, requires to be specially noticed, as thereby hangs the interesting traditionary tale connected with its origin and foundation. The story is found in Thomas Innes's *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, where it is drawn from the account of St. Machar in the venerable *Breviarium Aberdonense*, and we think it better to present it in Innes's own words:

"St. Machar was born, of noble parents, in Ireland, and at first named Mochonna. I find him also called Mauritius, but Machar is the name by which he is commonly known. He had followed St. Columba into Britain, and after he had made more than ordinary progress in piety and in learning in Ycolmkill, St. Columba, having caused him to be

"Gavinus aliud est opus aggressus, *Basilicæ Aberdonensis cælaturam;* sed hoc quoque magna ex parte mira arte consummatum est" (Boece's *Vitæ Episcop.*, p. 85, Bann. Cl.).

* The following extract from the deft pen of the late ingenious John Ramsay, who dearly loved the spot, gives the impression of the scene:

"Viewed as it now stands, although sadly shorn of its original glory, the Cathedral is a highly picturesque and interesting object. The aspect of its western end, with its noble window of seven lights, flanked by lofty towers capped by those quaint old steeples, is singularly beautiful and striking—more especially when glowing in the mellowed ray of the western sun, and partly shaded by the venerable trees, which so beautify and solemnise the scene, redeeming the dreariness of the graveyard, and, by their obedience to the law of the seasons, instinctively symbolising the change from mortal to immortal life. None but the veriest clod of the valley can be uninfluenced by the spell which binds one in the rapt contemplation of so fair a scene, of which the fascination is crowned by the swelling music of the Don, 'unseen but not remote'" (John Ramsay's *Selected Writings*, pp. 92-3).

advanced to holy orders and afterwards to be consecrated bishop, sent him with twelve of his disciples to preach the Gospel in the most northern parts of the Pictish provinces, admonishing him to settle and *erect a church upon the bank of a river where he should find that by its windings it formed the figure of a bishop's crosier.* St. Machar, following this admonition, went on northward, preaching the Gospel, till he came to the bank of the river Don, near its entry to the sea, at a place where by its windings the river makes the foresaid figure of a crosier (*præsulis instar baculi*),* and there he built a church which still bears his name, and became the Cathedral of Aberdeen" (Innes's *Civ. and Eccl. H. of S.*, p. 194, Sp. Cl.).

The building that now overlooks this the last bend or crook of the river Don is the successor, perhaps at more than one remove,† of the primitive and original cell or church of St. Machar.‡ It is no part of our subject to give any minute details of the history of the building,§ or to enter into the chronicles of the See of Aberdeen, except in so far as is necessary to bring out the historic aspects of the monument which forms the subject of our investigation. Those chronicles are contained in such works as the *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* (Sp. Cl.), or the *Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, by Dr. Joseph Robertson, from either of which may be obtained traditional details as to the position of the See

* *Ubi flumen, præsulis instar baculi, intrat mare* (*Breviar. Aberdon.*, 12 Nov.). On this supposition, the date of St. Machar's foundation cannot be put later than 597, the year of St. Columba's death. St. Machar is said to be interred, not in his own church, but in St. Martin's at Tours.—How little, however, we *know* of St. Machar appears from Dr. Gammack's *critique* (*Scottish Notes and Queries*, October, 1887).

† The historic vista as to the successive stages of Church economy in Scotland is not so clear as is the case so frequently in the old ecclesiastical buildings of England. There we sometimes find no less than four distinct strata, so to speak, *historically* discernible, as, *e.g.*, at Glastonbury and St. Albans, churches which dispute with Canterbury the right, not perhaps to precedence, but to priority as Christian centres. At Glastonbury in particular we know of (1st) the original British church, made, after the Celtic fashion, of timber (see *Quart. Rev.*, vol. lxxxv., p. 111), perhaps of wattled work; (2nd) the Saxon church of St. Dunstan, both of which exist only in records of the time; (3rd) the existing ruins in the Early English style; (4th) the contiguous church of St. Cuthbert's, in the Perpendicular or Tudor style.

‡ For details as to this saint (Machar or Macarius, also Mauritius), see Bishop A. P. Forbes's *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 394.

§ Short outline of the stages of progression in Dr. Joseph Robertson's important article on Scottish Ecclesiology (*Quart. Rev.*, vol. lxxxv., p. 141).

in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland. Inferior necessarily to the two archiepiscopal Sees of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and in a certain sense inferior also to Dunkeld, which claimed to represent the succession from Iona, Aberdeen may be said to rank *fourth* among the Scottish Sees, a place which it holds nearly invariably in the rolls of the Scottish Parliament, and such is the position, accordingly, which it occupies in the Scottish ecclesiastical array in this heraldic roof. It is worthy of note, however, that twice in the history of the See it was on the eve of attaining something like archiepiscopal position. Under Bishop Thomas Spence (*Statuta Eccl. Scot.*, p. cxvii.) the diocese was privileged by the Papal Court to be exempt "during his lifetime" from the jurisdiction of St. Andrews; and again, on the proposed elevation of the saintly Elphinston to St. Andrews, it was intended to translate Andrew Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, to Aberdeen, and to exempt the diocese from all jurisdiction, not only archiepiscopal or metropolitan, but also primatial or legatine (*Statuta Eccl. Scot.*, p. cxxvi.). The design in this latter instance was not carried out, and Aberdeen has therefore to rely less on the rank accorded to the See than upon the eminence of her individual bishops, some of these, whether in the Roman Catholic or Protestant period, being among the most remarkable of the Scottish prelates. The memory of Elphinston,* Dunbar, and, later, of Bishop Patrick Forbes of Corse, long survived; and it was probably owing to the recent memory of the virtues of these prelates that Episcopacy obtained and retained such a strong foothold, as is well known, in this north-eastern province during the most stormy periods of the Covenant.

* Elphinston, "a saintly bishop, who came too late for canonising" (Cosmo Innes, *Sketches*, p. 85). He died in 1514, within three years of the commencement of the Reformation, by which time rapid canonisation, like that of Becket (1173, only two years after his murder), had ceased to be possible.

CHAPTER II.

THE INTERIOR OF THE CATHEDRAL AND THE HERALDIC CEILING.

Auratasque trabes, veterum decora alta parentum.—VIRG., *Æn.*

THE interior of the Church, as it now presents itself, falls into three divisions—the centre, or nave proper, with its clerestory resting on a fine double arcade of supporting pillars, but without any triforium or "blind-story"; the north aisle, and, lastly, the south aisle, both flanking the nave at a lower elevation. Each of these three divisions has had the fortune, or misfortune, to undergo a separate treatment, and to possess, therefore, a separate history.

The north aisle has suffered most from alterations: it was taken down and reconstructed, under unfortunate conditions, about fifty years ago; the windows were unfortunately debased by wooden mullions, and its roof, which is now flat and is under lead externally, is in plaster, with plaster bosses, and ribbed with plaster bands indicating the supposed beams of the construction. The monotony and poverty of the design, together with the coldness of the colour in the roof of this north aisle, form, it must be confessed, a harsh contrast to the rich and varied decoration and warm colour of the central nave, over which is placed the heraldic ceiling.

The south aisle has the ordinary sloping roof abutting on the clerestory. The wooden beams and integuments of this southern portion of the Cathedral have been, within the last twenty years, decorated with appropriate flowering in colour under direction of Mr. D. Cottier of London. Regarding the south aisle, there is nothing further that needs, for our purpose, to be noted than that

the bold stone ribs of the mullions in the original windows have been in this instance fortunately preserved.

It is to the roof of the nave or central part that our attention must now be directed. Before proceeding to tabulate and describe its features in detail, it may be well in the first instance to glance at the structural conditions and the problem that was solved by the adoption of such a design.

We have already alluded to the enormous difficulty of constructing an over-arched roof of stone where granite was the material. The absence of flying buttresses on the outside is a feature indicating that the architects did not contemplate provision to meet the lateral thrust of a superincumbent stone roof, such as, *e.g.*, that of King's College Chapel, Cambridge. Neither did they preserve the fiction of an embowed roof in timber, such as we see exemplified in the modern roof of another Cambridge chapel, that of St. John's, and also in our own King's College Chapel of Old Aberdeen, where we find a wooden embowed roof, with escarbuncles for decoration. Yet the architects were resolved that the central space should be broad and capacious, not narrow and attenuated like many of the old Scottish non-cathedral churches, where the length was sometimes more than five times the breadth (as in old St. Congan's,* Turriff, length 120 ft. by 18 ft. of breadth, and similarly in such as Foulis Wester, Cowie, Gamrie, &c.).

It was therefore only by a flat or horizontal wooden roof that so large a central space could be covered,† and the question naturally arose, how was this surface to be lighted up, and to have its monotony relieved? The problem was solved by creating a suggestion of the firmament with its constellations and its ordered zodiac of powers, and no more happy treatment could have been devised. Already from the influence of the Byzantine architecture, with its characteristic feature, the "dome," the conception of the roof considered as a sky was present to the mind of the medieval Gothic architects; and this feeling

* *Book of Deer*, edited by Dr. John Stuart. This is the extreme, but even Foulis Wester is 90 by 27 feet (about A.D. 1450, Billings). This narrowness of the old Scottish churches was partly owing to the rarity of suitable timber easily accessible. In the *Cathedral* churches the proportion of breadth to length was different, the breadth being much ampler. St. Andrews had its nave 200 feet long by 62 broad.

† A roof of timber, not, however, always flat, was a necessity in covering wide and great halls like those of Darnaway or of Rufus at Westminster.

or conception continued to be inherited and to operate even where the dome, originally a Byzantine feature, was discarded, or where it was found structurally unattainable, as it ultimately became under the Gothic architectural development.

In sacred literature there was high authority for such a conception. In more than one passage of the Apocalypse relating to the revolutions of terrestrial powers, the changes in the earthly dynasties are symbolised under the changes in the signs of heaven, and in the words, "The powers of heaven shall be shaken," * we catch the notes ominous of the fall of dynasties and empires.

By some such process of thought, working on such imagery, was shaped the happy design of occupying the roof-space above with a galaxy of gleaming shields, to give a faint image of the field of heaven, with its groups of fixed stars † in never-changing array, and hence the author of this blazonry set himself to map out the powers, political and ecclesiastical, then visible in his historical horizon.‡

* Augustine was on the track of this thought when he wrote: "Pauperi plus est videre cœlum stellatum quam diviti tectum inauratum"—"To the poor man it is a grander thing to behold the starry heaven than for a rich man to see his gilded roof". And so Shakspere, when he makes Hamlet speak of "this brave o'erhanging firmament, this *majestical roof fretted with golden fires*". Compare in the *Temple of Fame* the kindred simile of Pope: "As heaven with stars, the roof with jewels shines".

† Pope Innocent IV., confirming a *Postulate* of the clergy of Aberdeen, has the following: "Episcopi tanquam *stellæ fixæ in firmamento* lucere debent" (A.D. 1247, 13th May, in Theiners' *Vetera Monumenta*). Sometimes the firmament is conceived in a narrower sense, without the circling stars; and then we hear, in the Middle Ages, of the "Two Great Lights," viz., the Pope and the Emperor (Wyntoun's *Cronykil*, Prologue to Bk. v.). Says delightful old Guillim, in his dedication to the King: "There is a firmament of stars, that shine not without your benign beam: you are the sun of our Hemisphere, that sets a splendour on our Nobility" (Guillim's *Display of Heraldry*).

‡ It is interesting to find a confirmation as to this interpretation of the design in a nearly contemporary document describing the works of Bishop Dunbar: "Hujus templi toreumata, *seu celum ipsum*, opere exasciato imaginibus et principum insigniis fabricari fecit" (*Registrum Episc. Ab.*, ii., p. 249). The proper reading must be, not *seu*, but *ceu*, *i.e.*, like as—*i.e.*, an ornamented roof, just *as the firmament itself*. So likewise the University of Oxford in its letter of thanks to a great benefactor (Bishop Kempe, A.D. 1480), describing the heraldic ornamentation of its Divinity schools: "Ornamenta Regibus et principibus digna . . . *ad naturalis cœli imaginem* variis picturis subtilique artificio cælata" (Wood's *Oxford*, ii., pp. 778-9). The supposed etymological connection between *cœlum* (heaven) and *cælo* (to engrave) helped the analogy.—Conversely, the language of armorial garniture has been transferred in large measure so as to describe the celestial sphere. The *host* of heaven at once occurs as

It is fortunate, therefore, for us that the designer addressed himself to his task just in time, not a moment earlier, to represent to us the still unbroken commonwealth of Western Europe, before expiring chivalry passed away with the last breath of Bayard, at Pavia, in 1525. Great events of world-wide significance had marked the middle and close of the preceding century. The fall of Constantinople in 1453, the counterstroke dealt to Mahometanism in the fall of Granada in 1492, and above all the great lifting of the curtain of the world by the maritime discoveries toward East and West of Gama and Columbus—these were among the events witnessed by the generation to which Bishops Elphinston and Dunbar belonged; and before Bishop Dunbar quitted the scene, the gathering storm of the Reformation was already bursting over the Northern world.* The hierarchy of the Western Church stood till then unbroken; a few years later, and the great revolution was consummated by which that hierarchy was shattered, and the execution or even conception of such a comprehensive artistic representation became no longer possible. Happily, however, the work was conceived, if not executed, under the one Pope (Leo the Tenth) who, more than any other pontiff, is a central figure for all time, marking out an era to which his name is affixed as a designation, and who is also the last pontiff that can be said to have received the undivided homage of the West. Hence the value to us historically and sentimentally of this delineation, for it gives us the aspect, as it shaped

significant in this respect, the same image which Milton (*Paradise Lost*, iv. 553) has expanded into the glorious vision of the angelic guard:

> "Celestial armoury, shields, helms, and spears,
> Hung high, with diamond flaming and with gold".

A brilliant cluster of kindred illustrations might also be added from such sources, as the "garnishing" of the firmament (*Job* xxvi. 13, "Spiritus ejus *ornavit* cœlos," Vulg.) and the Greek Cosmos (κόσμος), a word which we know has been transferred to the celestial sphere from the armorial, to which it originally appertained. In more modern literature there is no example more apt than P. J. Bailey's apostrophe to the sun:

> "God's *crest* upon His azure *shield*, the heavens" (*Festus*).

* The historical array is, in the eye of the student of history, the most fortunate among all the epochs that could have been chosen. Charles V. is already on the Imperial throne, and it was during his time, according to Robertson, that "the powers of Europe were formed into one great political system, and the ideas concerning the balance of power were introduced or rendered general that still influence the councils of nations".

itself four centuries ago, of the "dominations, princedoms, powers," that then in their several spheres held sway.

And they were in those days "powers" * in a sense and with an ascendency such as we in these times can but imperfectly conceive. The despotic form of monarchy, as shaped by Louis XI., Henry VII., and Ferdinand of Aragon, had just appeared in full form. It was also the age when Charles V. and Francis I. were contending in their long European duel, and when even minor potentates, such as the Scottish nobles, were as kings or petty princes rather than vassals to the Crown —not yet reduced to the mere guard of honour to royalty which they afterwards became. † It is obvious, therefore, that we have in this heraldic ceiling a pictured page in the great book of time at a period of peculiar interest, a transcript of an important epoch of history in shorthand, of which Aberdeen has reason to be proud.

On the pannelled ceiling at the intersections of the mouldings or cross-bars occur the several series of heraldic shields, which are arranged in three parallel longitudinal rows, ‡ sixteen in each row, and all carved in low relief. Each shield has proceeding from it on either side an escrol on a lighter ground than that of the ceiling, bearing in black text with red initial letter the official designation, in Latin, of the dignity represented. The order of dignity advances as you proceed from the west eastward; the extreme west is occupied by the three *local* corporate bodies, two municipal and one academic. The place of honour for the highest *European* dignitaries—a trio with shields having their several devices upon a ground of imperial *gold*—is at the extreme east, where the nave joined on to the cruciform and more sacred por-

* So in astrology:

"Facta etenim et vitas hominum suspendit ab astris".

—*Manil.*, iii. 58.

† On the almost autocratic power of the Scotch nobles, and the struggle undertaken oy the Stewart princes to curb that power, especially by James I. and II., and again renewed under James V., see Lord Crawford's admirable sketch (i., p. 25, *Earldom of Mar*).

‡ There are thus three main lines on which the shields are arranged, and the insertions take place at the points of intersection, where the beams indicating the joists cross these main lines at right angles. A series of square pannels is thus produced, and these pannels are again crossed obliquely quincunx-wise by diagonal lines of a lighter kind, and from the centre of each square pannel there depends a pendant with a four-rayed escarbuncle out of which it proceeds.

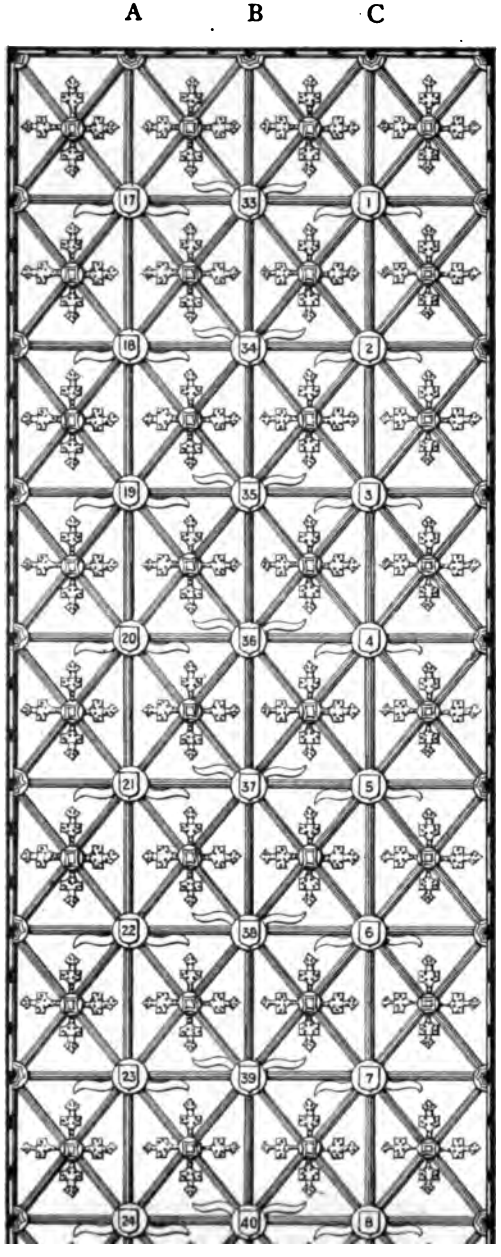
tion of the building. Further, the trio at the extreme west is in remarkable symmetry with the trio at the extreme east. In each case, two temporal or secular powers flank at either end of the nave a spiritual or intellectual power, and the place of honour, such as is given to the Pope between Emperor and King, is correspondingly assigned to the University, which stands flanked at the west end by the two municipal corporations. Of these three series of shields, thus commencing and closing, one represents the Emperor and the other sovereigns of Europe, another the Pope and the Scottish bishops, and the third the King of Scotland and the nobles of Scotland. The Church dignitaries occupy—and rightly in such an edifice—the middle row, and their escrols have the precedence of being slightly in advance of those of the temporal powers flanking them on either hand. The northern row, which is *heraldically* the *Sinister* row, and therefore inferior to the *Dexter*, but which, looked at *ecclesiastically*, upon the analogy of the precedence attached to the north side of the altar, may have been regarded as the more honourable position, is assigned to the external powers of Christendom; while the southern row, which is here heraldically the *Dexter* row, is left for the immediate temporal powers within the Scottish realm.

The date of the decoration of this roof may be assumed as 1520, at which time the work of blazonry must have been in progress. The presence of Pope Leo X.'s arms, who died in 1521, and the non-appearance of the arms of the Bishop's nephew and namesake, viz., those of the Gavin Dunbar who became Archbishop of Glasgow as early as 1524,* justify the date ascribed.

We now proceed to enumerate these shields in their several orders, and to present the luminous points attaching to each personality denoted by the various shields.

* The second of these arguments is the conclusive one. The arms of Clement VII., Pope from 1523 to 1534, were the same as those of Leo, both being of the Medici family.

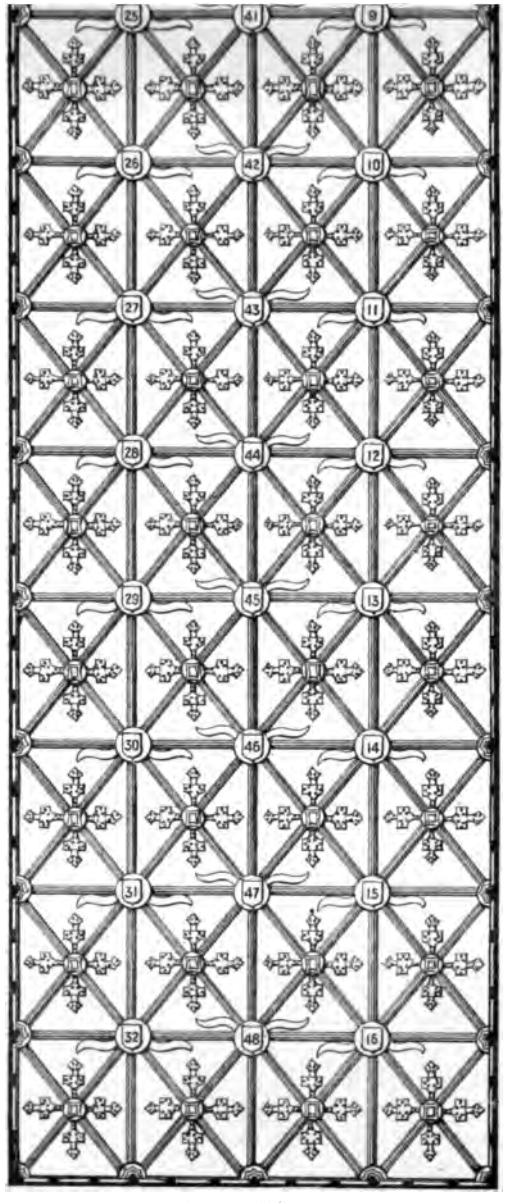
EAST-END.



A—Row of Scottish King and Nobles, &c.

B—Row of Ecclesiastical Dignities, &c.

C—Row of European Sovereigns, &c.



N.B.:—This Sketch Plan, being a miniature of the ceiling, is to be viewed as overhead in relation to the spectator, in which case C will represent the North Row, while A represents the South Row, in the Heraldic Ceiling.

CHAPTER III.

REGUM DUCUMQUE EXTERORUM SERIES (CIRCA A.D. MDXX.).

SERIES OF FOREIGN SOVEREIGNS—NORTHERN ROW.

I. Imperatorie Majestatis.* [No. 1.

CHARLES V., Emperor, 1519-1555 (as CARLOS I., King of Spain, 1516); resigned his crowns in 1556; died in 1558.

THE Emperor or Kaiser appears here as the first secular power of Christendom. He claimed to represent not only the imperial dignity as reconstituted by and in Charles, the son of Pepin, monarch of the Franks, but also the older and primary succession of the Roman Empire, both Pagan and Christian. By the fall of Constantinople under the Turk in 1453, that rival shadow of a Roman Empire of the East, which had maintained, though feebly, a continuous existence, now vanished, but the surviving Empire of the West retains the double-headed eagle,† as if

* *Majestas* properly and strictly of the *Roman* Emperor. The style of the King of Scotland is, at this time (see p. 30), only *Celsitudo*, "Highness"—an appellation now given to the Princes of the Blood. So in England, Henry VIII. is the first who took the title of Majesty, each King before him being styled "Sovereign Lord," "Highness". In Shakspere "Highness," and even "His Grace," still remain alongside of the term "Majesty".

† The symbol of the imperial eagle with outspread wings—what Dante (*Parad.* 20) calls "il segno del Mondo," the ensign of the world—is the most august of all the scutcheons of the world, reaching back to Augustus and up to Jove, whose representative he claimed to be. There is thus historic truth as well as beauty in Ariosto's line, where the imperial eagle on a warrior's shield is described as—

"Augel che Giove per l'aria sostenne".—*Orl. Fur.*, xxx. 48.
"The bird that once in air could Jove sustain."

Compare, as to the two beaks of the eagle, the double scimitars at the girdle of the Caliphs "as the symbols of a double reign over the East and West" (Gibbon, vol. vii., p. 176, chap. 57). Charles himself once surprised the poet Alamanni, who in audience as ambassador

to claim the succession to the Eastern as well as the Western inheritance of the Cæsars. This dignity purported to be elective, and was now held by Charles V.* (I. of Spain), "the greatest monarch of the memorable sixteenth century, and the most famous of the successors of Charlemagne" (Stirling's *Cloister Life of Charles V.*, p. 211). As the son of Joan of Castile, who was the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella and consort of Philip, Archduke of Austria, and as the grandson of the Emperor Maximilian, and of Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, the heiress of the house of Burgundy, Charles V. became the heir of the Indies in the New World, and of many converging inheritances in the Old; whence, in veritable truth, he bestrode Europe as a Colossus. Besides the imperial eagle, he is the possessor of three of the other shields on this heraldic ceiling—Spain (*i.e.*, Castile and Leon), Aragon, and Sicily—and so fills one-fourth of this regal series. It may therefore be doubted with Bayle whether a prince ever walked the stage of this world with a larger array of titles of renown.† The assertion that

had made frequent mention of the *imperial eagle*, by quoting sarcastically his own lines against him:

". . . l' aquila grifagna,
Che per più divorar *due becchi* porta".—Roscoe's *Leo X.*, ii., p. 453.

On the question as to precedence between Eagle and Lion in heraldic symbolism, Sir Walter Scott touches gracefully in chap. xi. of the *Talisman*. In 1575, half a century later than Gavin Dunbar, Philip II. adorns a gate at Toledo with the eagle and shield of Charles V. (Ford's *Spain*, p. 484).

* Charles Quint, "le plus grand homme qui soit sorti de l'auguste Maison d'Autriche" (Bayle). The name Charles was thought from its associations to have an imperial sound with it. See Lord Bacon, addressing our Charles I. (*War with Spain*).

† Roscoe's succinct account of the convergence of crowns is as follows:

"From his father Philip, Archduke of Austria [and son of the Emperor Maximilian], Charles inherited the rich patrimony of the Netherlands, which Philip had himself acquired in right of his mother, Mary of Burgundy. His title to the crowns of Castile and of Aragon was derived from Ferdinand and Isabella, by their daughter Joanna, the mother of Charles, who was yet living, and whose name was, in fact, united with his own in the sovereignty, although she was incapacitated by a derangement of intellect from taking any part in the administration. The crown of Sicily had descended in peaceable succession for several generations, and Charles now assumed it as representative of the legitimate branch of the house of Aragon. Although the kingdom of Naples was for the present held by the sword rather than by an acknowledged title, yet Ferdinand died in the exercise of the royal authority, and Charles was possessed of resources sufficient to maintain his pretensions. By the death of Maximilian he entered upon the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria" (*Life of Leo X.*, ii., p. 198).

Charles V. had it in his designs to become also Pope, rests only on the authority of Brantôme, who is not partial to the enemy of France (see Bayle). "In this prince," says De Thou, "fortune contended with virtue that it might crown his merits with the highest pitch of felicity." Bayle sums up more justly: "His history is a mélange of fortune and misfortune". His famous *mot* as to the aptitudes of the then four leading tongues of Europe is interesting to us now as showing how little was as yet thought of the Teutonic element, and how the branch thereof which we know as the English tongue was as yet, notwithstanding Chaucer's appearance on the scene, virtually ignored by the European mind. It may be interesting likewise to refer to the literary blazon given to this Emperor by our countryman Buchanan, during the imperial visit to Bordeaux in 1539, about the time when this heraldic ceiling was still young:

> "Ausoniæ regalis honos, decus orbis Iberi,
> Carolus, arctoi soboles Mavortia Rheni.
> . . . . .
> . . Rectorem gentis Iberæ,
> Ausoniæ dominum, Boreæ pugnacis alumnum,
> Victorem Libycæ terræ, Scythiæque timorem."

Compare the still more magniloquent stanzas of Ariosto in his praise (*Orl. Fur.*, xv. 23-8). Yet, for all his victories, he failed to save Metz to the Germanic race, which lost that fortress in 1552, and has only recovered it in our time. On the strange resignation by Charles V. of the imperial purple, "retiring to a Spanish Spalatro, gout-worn, empire-sick, exchanging crowns for rosaries" (Ford's *Spain*), there is quite an anthology of literary references. Besides Lord Bacon's reference in his Essay on "Empire," see the approving remarks of his almost contemporary, Montaigne (ii., chap. 8), and compare Gibbon on such abdications (ii. 98; viii. 127); also Lord Byron's lines, in the "Ode to Napoleon," "The Spaniard, when the lust of sway".

II. Francorum Regis. [No. 2.

FRANCIS I. (FRANÇOIS) (of Angoulême), King, 1515-1547.

The world-wide historic name of the "Frank" here meets the view. In the time of the Crusades it became equivalent to European, and still survives in the "Feringhee" applied by the Hindoos to the natives

of the West, even to such as are neither French nor Frank. The name is here a survival from the period of Karl the Great (Charlemagne), who was "King of the Franks" as well as Kaiser, being the first *Teutonic* "Emperor of the Romans"; but the severance has long since taken place (in A.D. 887) betwixt the East Franks and the West Franks, between Latin or Gallic Neustria and Teutonic Austrasia, and so the monarch of Neustria, which grew into France, is here credited with the ancient but wider title, the half dominion claiming to retain the name of the whole.*

The *fleurs-de-lis*, as the arms of France, are now concentrated to three, having been so reduced by Charles VI. of France, and no longer, as in the early time, scattered, or, as the phrase is, *semé*, in profusion over the shield. Though they look like flowers of the Iris species, justifying Ariosto's "i Gigli d'oro," it is a question what is the original form or meaning of the device, and Voltaire has the grim joke that these flowers are spear-heads in disguise. In fine balance as a pendant to this scutcheon, in device and colour, is the shield of St. Margaret, which occupies the corresponding rank in the Southern Row, also with "gold charges on an azure field".

The wearer at this time of the *fleurs-de-lis*, or, as both Spenser and Shakspere style them, *flowers-de-luce*, is the chivalrous† but

* We can only glance thus briefly at the historic interest folded up in the name "Francorum". In process of time, as France has gradually become less Frankish and Teutonic, and more Latin and Celtic, which is indeed the outcome of the Revolution of '89, "Gallorum" might be expected as more accurate; and so Soult, in the Latin Inscription at Corunna regarding Sir John Moore, records him as having fallen fighting against the *Galli* (not *Franci*) (Ford's *Spain*). By a fine instinct, Buchanan in his History speaks of *Franci* in the time of Carolus Magnus, but uses *Gallia* and *Galli* regularly for France and the French people throughout the Stewart time.

† A personal device of Francis I. was a salamander in the midst of flames, with the motto *Nutrisco et extinguo*. It is said to have been suggested by Artus de Gouffier-Boisy, a Poitevin gentleman, the king's literary preceptor, for the purpose of symbolising the fiery spirit of his pupil (*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. x., p. 219). It is a device not unhappily suggestive of the troubles amid which he reigned. An autograph letter of Francis I. to James V. in 1531 appears among the National MSS. of Scotland (Part III.). It is couched in most flattering terms, and has for its object to attach Scotland to the French interest in the great drama of the time. The *azure* in the case of the golden lilies may be taken to represent appropriately the *blue* water of a lake (*cf.* Guillim, p. 4); in the case of the martlets of St. Margaret, the *blue* ether of the sky. Among the quaintest arguments ever known to logic was the appeal to the New Testament text as to the Lilies, in support of the Salique law

erratic Francis I., the victim of his own rashness at Pavia, who waged the life-long duel * with Charles V. According to Brantôme and Bayle, the latter would have subjugated Europe but for the stand made by Francis I. In the field of literature and art Francis is remembered as the patron of Budaeus and of Greek learning, as the bosom friend of Leonardo da Vinci, and as a composer of chansons that have a place in the history of French poetry, and he is further styled "the father of letters" † (De Thou). The fine stanzas of Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.*, xxxiii. 52-3) are the homage of the muse to the captive of Pavia. "Upon his accession to the crown, he raised in everybody mighty expectations of himself, as there was a certain majesty in his looks, a lively wit, a courteous demeanour, a love for learning, and an experience of the world (for as yet he had scarce arrived at the age of twenty), joined to the royal dignity" (De Thou). This great promise can hardly be said to have been realised; many virtues and not a few vices compose a very mixed character. Compare Ford's lively but far from favourable sketch of Francis I. (*Spain*, p. 571).

III. Hispanorum Regis. [No. 3.

CARLOS I. of Spain, 1516 (Karl [Charles] V. of Germany).

The arms represent only a part of the Spanish monarchy, viz., Leon and Castile. Of these two, Castile was greatly more prominent in the view of the next generation, and Spenser takes, allegorically, an embattled "Castle," *i.e.*, Castile, as allegorical symbol for the Spanish power (*F. Q.*, iii., 3, 49). Aragon has, later in the series (No. VIII.), a separate acknowledgment. (For personal history, see No. I. of this series.) From the Spanish point of view, Charles is thus, somewhat severely, characterised: "In him the Spanish crown passed to the *Foreigner*. A Fleming by birth, he was an Austrian at heart, and

excluding females from the French throne—viz., that the lilies toil not, neither *do they spin*; and therefore no *spindle* could become a sceptre (Guillim, p. 107).

* According to Montaigne (i., chap. 16), Charles wanted to bring it to a veritable duel, offering "to fight Francis in his shirt with rapier and poniard in a boat"! *Tantæne animis!*

† Montaigne (ii. 12) refers to the enthusiasm for polite letters radiating from Francis I., and affecting by its influence Montaigne's own father and his paternal home.

wasted on German politics the blood and gold of Spain" (Ford's *Spain*).

No. 4.] IV. Regis Anglorum.

HENRY VIII., King, 1509-1547.

The second Tudor, the first prince that united in his own person the lines of York and Lancaster, known in history as—

> "The majestic lord
> That broke the bonds of Rome".—Thos. Gray, "Ode to Music".

This King, the first "Defender of the Faith," affords a memorable instance of Papal fallibility in things temporal. Leo X. dreamt little that in giving Henry that title he was glorifying the future destroyer of Roman Catholicism in the realm of England.* It was under the pontifical reign of Leo's nephew (Clement VII.) that the crisis eventually developed itself in the antagonism betwixt Pope and King. How grimly terrible the whole tragedy of their relation was, we may feel from the quaint words of Anthony Wood, describing their mutual position as to the divorce question: "The King for his part acted John the Baptist, [averring] that it was not lawful for him to have his brother's wife, and the Pope acted King Herod; yet I am sure in the catastrophe of this scene the King served the Pope as Herod served the Baptist, and *beheaded his supremacy* in the Church of England" (Wood's *Oxford*, ii., p. 40).

It is worthy of note that the arms here assigned to Henry VIII.

* One of the most curious pieces of literature must be the lines in Henry's own hand (with one false quantity) on the dedication copy of his book against Luther, still preserved at the Vatican:

> "Anglorum rex Henricus, Leo Decime, mittit
> Hoc opus, et fidei testem et amicitiæ".

Montaigne, when in Rome, in 1580 (*Voyages*, ii., p. 148), saw and was struck with this book, but does not remark the false quantity in what he calls the "beau distich Latin". The annotator of Montaigne, however, suggests *Maxime* for *Decime*, but, in the spirit of Sigismund, the Emperor *super grammaticam*, he wisely adds: "Crowned heads are above quantities!"—The musical, and even poetical, accomplishments of Henry VIII. appear to have been notable. A short hymn which he composed still appears in some collections of sacred song, as in the hymn-book of the Temple Church, London.

are not the arms that he himself recognised or employed.* The arms here represented are from the Angevin and early Plantagenet time, before Edward III. introduced the custom of quartering the *fleurs-de-lis* of France with the three leopards of England. There is little doubt that we have in this feature—viz., the non-inclusion of the *fleurs-de-lis*—a touch of sympathy with France, in harmony with other indications of the Scottish antagonism toward England (see Ch. VI. 3).

In less than a hundred years after the time of Henry VIII. the royal shield was to be changed again, upon the accession of James I., when the three leopards† were joined to the "*one* lion". Andrew Melville's epigram on this combination—more arduous than the union of the *Roses*—is worth citation:

> "Macte Leoni uni tres unus junge Leones,
> Ceu Rosa juncta Rosæ est una ab utroque atavo:
> Si geminas junxisse Rosas res magna, Leones
> Maxima res uni jungere tergeminos".—*Delit. Poet. Scot.*, ii., p. 118.

* Ariosto, in his *Orl. Fur.* (x. 77), refers to the English blazon as the "bandiera grande, Ch' insieme pon *la Fiordiligi* e *i Pardi*".

† The leopards, or, as some call them, because not spotted, the lions, of England, were originally *personal* to the Plantagenet kings; and their adoption by these kings, as explained more fully in the Heraldic Section, Part II., was an inheritance from their ancient *ducal* dominions on the Continent—viz., Normandy and Guyenne. It is no ungracious paradox, therefore, to assert that the three lions do not belong primarily to England, except in so far as it was an appanage to Normandy, and so a conquered country. It is, therefore, matter of inquiry whether, apart from this, England, as "the land of the Angles," can claim to possess national Arms of her own, now cognisable.—The continental and *ducal* (not regal) origin of the three lions is important to remember, as throwing light on the question once keenly debated as to the precedence between Lilies and Lions in the shields of Edward III. and his successors down to George III. Historically, the Lilies, as *regal*, should have the first quarter of the shield. The three Lions have, however, now become *national* for England to the exclusion of the *family* arms of the Tudor, Stewart, and Brunswick dynasties.—Scotland, on the other hand, has possessed a *national* cognisance dating from the Celtic dynasty in the time of William the Lion, and neither the family arms of Baliol, nor of Bruce, nor of Stewart were ever in a position to become the arms of Scotland.—A very early notice of the blazon of England is that found in the Norman-French poem, "The Siege of Caerlaverock" (p. 23), in which it is thus described (Nicolas's English translation):

"In his (*i.e.*, Edward I.'s) banner were three leopards (*trois luparte*) courant of fine *gold*, set on *red*, fierce, haughty, and cruel; thus placed to signify that, like them, the king is dreadful, fierce, and proud to his enemies, for his bite is slight to none who inflame his anger, not but his kindness is soon rekindled towards such as seek his friendship or submit to his power".—"Lions," in Shakspere, if we may rely on I. Hen. VI., I., 5, 28.

No. 5.] V. Regis Danorum.

CHRISTIERN II., King, 1513; dethroned for tyranny, 1523.

On the dethroning of this prince, who was the Nero of the North, Frederick I., Duke of Holstein, his uncle, succeeds, and he reigns from 1523 to 1534.

The name is spelt Christiern ("Miles Christi") by the kings themselves till about 1550, when Christian appears (Pinkerton, *History of Scotland*, i., p. 262).

Denmark is here in a more prominent place than we might antecedently expect, but it is to be remembered—(1) that in the time of Knut (Canute) it was the head of an almost Oceanic monarchy; (2) at this period the treaty of Colmar was still in force, and Norway and Sweden were under the Danish crown, having no proper independent existence. In 1523, however, Gustavus Vasa appears, and Sweden becomes free. Another reason for the exalted position of the Danish king among the sovereigns may be due to the circumstance that the then reigning sovereign, James V., is grandson of a Danish princess (Margaret), Queen of James III.

No. 6.] VI. Regis Ungarie.*

LOUIS II. Reign, 1516-26.

The kingdom of the Magyars is the sole non-Aryan kingdom in the European family, as here acknowledged. The reigning prince, in a war with Soliman, is defeated at the battle of Mohacz, where he perished, in 1526. He was also King of Bohemia, in whose history he is known as Louis I. After his demise, Hungary and Bohemia fell to Ferdinand, brother of Charles V. and Archduke of Austria, who survived his brother and became Emperor, bringing into the Austrian family the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary. The defeat of the now reigning

* This is the first territorial title among the kings, and such are all the titles henceforth to the end of this series. The dominant races previously memorised have kings who take designation as rulers of *peoples*. It is noteworthy that the *peoples* are all toward the north or west. The *territories* are toward the east and south-east of Europe.

prince (Louis II.) had the further effect of bringing the Turks into the heart of Hungary, and gave them possession of Buda for one hundred and sixty years, till 1686, when the deliverance of that city came as the sequel to the memorable raising of the siege of Vienna by Sobieski in 1683. (On this King, see Carlyle's *Frederick*, vol. i., p. 234.)

VII. Regis Portugalie. [No. 7.

EMMANUEL (Manoel), the Fortunate. Reign, 1495-1521.
JOAM or JOHN III., son of Emmanuel, 1521-1557.

In the reign of Manoel, Vasco de Gama performed the exploit which gave Portugal a foremost place at once in maritime annals and, through Camoens, in epic song. The circumnavigation of the Cape was the culmination of a series of brave enterprises, which may be taken as an apt allegory of the progress of the human mind, moving on from vision to vision, like the Portuguese mariners from cape to cape, till some great discovery is revealed.

Among the poems of Buchanan is one to Joam III.: "Ad Joannem III., Lusitaniæ et Algarbiæ regem, Carmen".

VIII. Regis Aragonie. [No. 8.

CARLOS I., as heir of Fernando (the great Ferdinand of Aragon).
(See No. I.)

IX. Regis Cypre (? CYPRI).* [No. 9.

(Cyprus absorbed by Venice since 1489, and retained till invested by the Turks in 1570.)

The kingdom of Cyprus dates from the Crusades, and the sword of England had the creation of it. "By a strange concatenation of

* In the *Diurnal of Occurrents* (Bann. Cl.),—a work contemporary with James V.—it appears that a king, calling himself of Cepres, had come to Scotland, and he may have come in contact with Bishop Dunbar. Under 9th February, 1532, we have this entry: "Against the whilk (taxes) was *Gavin*, Bishop of Aberdeen. In this mene time the king of *Cepres* came to Scotland, and with him twa servantis in support, becaus he was baneist out of his awin countrie."

events," says Gibbon (vii., p. 286), "the sword of our English Richard bestowed the kingdom of Cyprus on the house of Lusignan, a rich compensation for the loss of Jerusalem."

The Lusignans continued to hold it for three centuries.

Their direct line ended with the death of John III. of Lusignan in 1458, who left it to his daughter Charlotte, his sole legitimate child, who married Louis, second son of Duke of Savoy, and so brought into the house of Savoy the claim to be kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem.*

A rival claim against that of Charlotte was set up by her illegitimate brother James. By marriage with a daughter of the Venetian merchant-house Cornaro, who was adopted as a daughter of St. Mark, he conveyed the claim of kingship to the Commonwealth of Venice. Cyprus was therefore one of the three sovereignties whose banners used to float on holidays on the three masts in the square of St. Mark's. (The other two royalties were Candia and Morea.)

No. 10.] X. Regis Navarre.

HENRI D'ALBRET (or Henri II. of Navarre), King, 1516-1555.

The kingdom of Navarre originally extended over territory on both sides of the Pyrenees. But in 1512 Fernando (or Ferdinand) the Catholic reft away the province on the Spanish side, and annexed it to Aragon. The territory on the north side of the Pyrenees, with Pau for its capital, remained a separate sovereignty. The Queen of this Henri was the celebrated and witty Marguerite of Valois, sister of Francis I. She was married to Henri d'Albret in 1527, and died in 1549. Their only child and heir was Jeanne (or Joan), who married Antoine de Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme, and the issue of their union was the great Henri

* "The Duke of Savoy is by Pius V. declared to be the first Prince of Italy, and in the Chappels of France, Venice, &c., gets the first stall, and, as King of Cyprus, pretends to be ranked among the crowned heads. But it may be admired, why the Duke of Savoy takes the title of Royal Highness; for if he be King of Cyprus, he ought to have the title of Majesty; and if he be not King, Royal Highness is not due to him." (Sir George Mackenzie, *Of Precedency*, ch. iv. See also *ibidem*, ch. iv., on relation to Venice and its claims to the sovereignty of Cyprus.)—It is not an improbable speculation to suppose that this dormant title of the house of Savoy may yet assume some day a concrete form in the *dénouements* of the future as to the destinies of the East.

Quatre (Spenser's *F. Q.*, v., 11, 44-9), who rose to the throne of France, and so merged Navarre in the monarchy of France. (It is remarkable that probably the greatest royal inheritances in modern times have come through the lucky name of "Margaret". Both the Bourbons and the Stewarts have this among the many coincidences marking their historic destiny, that they both got their huge *second* inheritance through a princess of that name.)

Buchanan has a fine tribute to Marguerite of Valois ("Iambon," i. 11), which the classical reader will admire.

XI. Regis Sicilie. [No. 11.

CARLO. (See Nos. I. and VIII. of this series.)

The kingdom of Sicily dates from 1130, when Roger,* great Count of Sicily, obtained or assumed regal title (Gibbon, vii., p. 133; on this addition to the *nine* monarchies of Latin Europe, see p. 29). Sicily had been united to Aragon since the time of the Sicilian Vespers (1282), and hence it is under the same political rule as No. VIII.

XII. Regis Polonie. [No. 12.

SIGISMUND I., surnamed the Great, King, 1506-1548.

The Jagellon dynasty, to which Sigismund belongs, began in 1400, on the death of Hedvige, the Queen of Poland, who had married Jagellon, the Grand Duke of Lithuania. Before this union Jagellon was a Pagan, but thereafter a convert to Christianity. Jagellon continued on the Polish throne after Hedvige's death, and his dynasty ended with Sigismund II. in 1572, when the monarchy, nominally or theoretically elective, became practically so, with consequences that ended in extinction and the *finis Poloniae*. (The Horse, so prominent in this shield, is not such a favourite in Heraldry as are other animals, such as the Lion and the Boar. The description of the war-horse in the Book of Job might lead us to expect otherwise. Guillim, however, gives the reason

* "Apulus et Calaber, Siculus mihi servit et Afer," was the proud inscription, after his reduction of Tunis, on the sword of Roger, afterwards first King of Sicily.

—viz., that "the Horse's service and strength [in war] is principally by help of his Rider, whereas the Lion's is his own". The Horse is, therefore, only an auxiliary.)

No. 13.] XIII. Regis Bohemie.

LOUIS I. (also King of Hungary, 1516-1526).
(See No. VI.)

No. 14.] XIV. Ducis Burbonie.

CHARLES, Duke of Bourbon and Vendôme, grandfather of Henri IV.

It was toward this house that the Scottish Court was now looking for a matrimonial alliance to secure a consort to their youthful sovereign; which perhaps accounts for the presence here of a *dukedom* of France. "Mary, daughter of the Duke of Vendôme, of the Bourbon branch of the royal family, was finally selected as the intended Queen of James V." (J. H. Burton, *History of Scotland*, iii., p. 349). (The alliance however did not take place, and the king married—(1) the short-lived Magdalene of France, (2) Mary of Lorraine.)

No. 15.] XV. Ducis Giltrie.

DUKE OF (GUELDRES) GELDERLAND.*

The Queen of James II. was Mary of Gueldres, a circumstance which may account for the presence of this continental dukedom of the Empire.

No. 16.] XVI. Veteris Aberdonie.

THE CITY OF OLD ABERDEEN.

Created a *Civitas* and Burgh of Barony by a charter of James IV., August 21st, 1498 (*Registrum Episc. Aberd.*, ii., p. 303). "The arms are a pot of lilies (which by their whiteness are an emblem of chastity),

* A glimpse of the family connection between Gelderland and Scotland is found in "Alexander, Albaniæ dux, germanus regis, qui *tunc in Geldria cum avunculo degebat*, reductus" (Boece, *Vitæ Episc.*, p. 31).

the town being under the patronage of the Virgin Mary —— " (*Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, Sp. Cl., p. 152).

*** With the above list of sovereign powers in Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century, compare the old list of kings of the Latin world in the beginning of the twelfth, immediately before the creation of the Norman kingdom of Sicily—

France,	Castile,	Sweden,
England,	Aragon,	Denmark,
Scotland,	Navarre,	Hungary.

Consult also Gibbon's incisive note 100 thereon, in chap. lvi. (vii., p. 133). The Emperor is not here named, being assumed to be the paramount ruler. Remark also that Scotland is in the array, but not Ireland, which indeed (as being within the domain of the King of England, who is "Lord of Ireland," or *Dominus Hybernie*), does not rank anywhere as a national unit. Note also, in this earlier list of potentates, the absence of the Slavonic kingdoms of Poland and Bohemia, whose recency or remoteness may account for their comparatively inferior position—last of the kingdoms—in our heraldic regal series.

A passing reference is here due to the singular and quaint List of Potentates at the close of the Cartulary of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, a transcript of which appears in the volume recently issued by the New Spalding Club. The full interpretation of this List, which is in Norman-French, and contains Saracen and Heathen as well as Christian Powers, awaits further investigation.

END OF THE REGAL SERIES.

CHAPTER IV.

REGIS PROCERUMQUE SCOTORUM SERIES.

SERIES OF SCOTTISH TEMPORAL DIGNITIES—SOUTHERN ROW.

No. 17.] I. Regie Celsitudinis.*

JAMES V. Reign, 1513-1542.

THE King, contemporary with this scutcheon of "the Ruddy Lion, ramped in gold,"† is James V., the son of the ill-fated but most gallant of all the Stewarts, James IV. How the father was betrayed, by his chivalrous promise to the French Queen, into the war waged with England against his own brother-in-law, and ending in the disaster of Flodden in 1513, belongs to a most tragic crisis of Scottish history.‡

* The title *Celsitudo* belongs to late Latin (*Codex Theodos.*), but its English form *Celsitude* is very current in the Scottish poets of the contemporary period, such as Dunbar and Lindsay, to denote the king's "Highness," for which afterwards "Majesty" became the current style. See note on p. 17.

† "Marmion."

‡ Sir David Lindsay ("Testament of Papyngo," *Works*, i., p. 81) has half-a-dozen fine stanzas on the virtues and sad fate of "King James the Feird," where, among other tributes, occurs the following:

> "And of his court through Europe sprang the fame
> Of lusty lords and lovesome ladies young;
> Triumphand tourneys, justing, and knightly game,
> With all pastime according for ane king:
> He was the gloire of princelie governyng".

As a tribute from his conquering foes we may take the proud lines (Surrey's *Works*, Nott's Ed., p. 27), of the poet Surrey, his conqueror's grandson:

> "How can ye thus beat a lion of the race,
> That with his paws *a crowned king* devoured in the place?"

alluding either to the "Lion" in the Norfolk *crest*, or to the "Red Lion" of Mowbray, appearing in the *scutcheon* of that Surrey who gained the victory over the "Red Lion Rampant".

The counterpart heraldically to this *literary* blazon is the charge which was added to

The elder prince has been variously judged both by contemporaries and by posterity. From the pen of Erasmus we have a panegyric upon his accomplishments.* Of his linguistic proficiency the Spanish ambassador of the period has left an interesting record.† He was the last of our Scottish kings who could speak the language of "Albyn," the older speech of the commonalty of Scotland, such as it had sounded in the ancient time, while the Stewart was still a Fitz-Alan, and, in harmony with this, he is known to have cherished kindly intentions towards the Gaelic portion of his subjects (Tytler, v., p. 131). Whence we may infer his ready patronage of the designs of Bishop Elphinston, which resulted in the establishment of a University in Aberdeen, with

the silver bend of the Norfolk Arms, and which still continues therein, being given after Flodden as augmentation. The bend is charged with a reminiscence of the fatal day—"the royal shield of Scotland," having "a demi-lion rampant pierced with an arrow". To this allusion is made also in lines attributed to Surrey:

"That Lyon placed on our silver bend,
Which as a trophy beautifies our shield".

The ribald lines of Skelton are those of a churl:

"Whatever they say,
Jemmy is ded
And closed in led,
That was their own kynge".—Dyce's *Skelton*, i., p. 182.

At the Heralds' College, London, where the Duke of Norfolk retains the style of Hereditary Marshal of England, are still preserved relics of Flodden—viz., the sword and dagger of James IV., also—the fateful gift—the turquoise ring sent him by the French queen (*Old and New London*, vol. i., p. 300).

* "Erat ea corporis specie ut vel procul Regem posses agnoscere. Ingenii vis mira, incredibilis rerum omnium cognitio, invicta animi magnitudo, vere regia pectoris sublimitas, summa comitas, effusissima liberalitas. Denique nulla virtus erat quæ magnum deceret principem, in qua ille non sic excelleret, ut inimicorum quoque suffragio laudaretur."—Erasmus, in his "Adagia," on "Spartam nactus es" (quoted in Dr. Joseph Robertson's *Inventories of Mary*, p. 17).

† Don Pedro de Puebla reports to his master as follows:

"He [the King] speaks the following foreign languages: Latin very well; French, German, Flemish, Italian, and Spanish. His own Scotch language is as different from English as Aragonese from Castilian. The king speaks, besides, *the language of the savages who live in some parts* of Scotland and on the islands. It is as different from Scotch *as Biscayan is from Castilian*" (J. H. Burton, *History of Scotland*, iii., p. 213). We can forgive the ambassador's representation of the Highlanders because of the felicity of his philological analogies, which Bopp himself could not describe more accurately or felicitously. (A signature of James IV. is found in Kilravock volume of Spalding Club, p. 179.)

the special view to benefit the remoter parts of his dominion. (See Preamble of Deed of Erection, *Fasti Aberdonenses*, pp. 3, 4.) The historian Pinkerton has a sketch of his character (*History of Scotland*, ii., p. 2), and elsewhere he describes him acrimoniously as a monarch "whose faults were few but fatal, whose virtues were many but useless". The severity of this judgment ought to be modified when it is remembered that he not only founded the third of the Scottish Universities, but encouraged the introduction into Scotland of the art of printing, "that art which," as Pinkerton confesses, "is the art that preserves all the others".

Passing from the father to the son, we find that James V. must have been still a minor when this heraldic shield was emblazoned in his honour. He was born in April, 1512, in the palace of Linlithgow, being the third son of James IV. and Margaret Tudor (his two elder brothers having died in infancy). One of the most notable facts in his history was the circumstance that in 1537 the then Pope, Paul III., bestowed on him the title of "Defender of the Christian Faith"—an appellation, however, which James V. never used. (See *Statuta Eccl. Scot.*, p. cxxxviii.; also J. H. Burton, *History of Scotland*, iii., p. 343.) His character is darkly drawn by Knox in the *History of Reformation*. Compare Pinkerton's estimate (*History of Scotland*, ii., pp. 292-3); also that of William Drummond, pp. 114-5 (edition of Drummond's Works, Ed. 1711).

Few monarchs have received more frequent homage from contemporary poets.

1. Ariosto, according to Drummond* (*ibid.*, p. 115), compliments him under the name of Zerbino, Prince of Scotland:

> "Zerbino, di bellezza e di valore
> Sopra tutti i signori eminente,
> Di virtù esempio e di bellezza raro".

The fine tribute in *Orl. Fur.*, x. 84, is interesting heraldically, though not faultless in the representation:

> "Vedi tra due unicorni il gran leone,
> Che la spada d'argento tra nella zampa:

* Doubt has been cast on this view of Drummond, since Ariosto published the *Orlando* in 1516, *before* James V. had shown any quality or promise (Mickle in note on Hoole's *Ariosto*, xiii., l. 39).

Quell' è del Re di Scozia il gonfalone;
Il suo figliuol Zerbino ivi s' accampa.
Non è un si bello in tante altre persone;
Natura il fece e poi ruppe la stampa;
Non è, in cui tal virtù, tal grazia luca,
O tal passanza; ed è di Roscia Duca."

"Yon lion, placed two unicorns between,
That rampant* with a silver sword is seen,
Is for the King of Scotland's banner known;
Zerbino there encamps, his gallant son.
No form so graceful can your eyes behold,
For Nature made him and then broke the mould.
The title of the Duke of Ross he bears,
No chief with him for dauntless mind compares."—Hoole's *Ariosto*.

2. Ronsard, who in his boyhood was page to James V., and spent some time at Holyrood, has the following tribute:

"Ce roy d'Ecosse estoit en la fleur de ses ans;
Ses cheveux non tondus comme fin or liusans,
Cordonnez et cuspez flotans dessus sa face,
Et sur son col de laict luy donnoit bonne grace.
Son Porto estoit royal, son regard vigoureux,
De vertus et d'honneur et de guerre amoureux.
La douceur et la force, illustroient son visage,
Si que Venus et Mars en avoient fait partage."

3. Sir David Lindsay's kindly reminiscence of the King's boyish years is too well known to need citation, containing the familiar lines ("The Complaynt to the King"):

"How *as ane chapman beiris his pack*,
I bure thy Grace upon my back," &c.

Also the stanza in the dedication of "The Dreme":

"Quhen thou wes young, I bure thee in my arme
Full tenderly, till thou begouth to gaing,
And in thy bed oft happit thee full warme
With lute in hand, syne sweetly to thee sung," &c.

* In the literature of Heraldry there is a pleasing *morceau* on the royal arms of Scotland in Francis Douglas's *East Coast of Scotland*. It is quoted at length in *Book of Bon-Accord*, p. 217. According to Cosmo Innes (*Sketches*, p. 113), the arms first appear on a seal of Alexander II. about 1235, and so Seton (*Scottish Heraldry*, 192, 425). John H. Burton deals with this subject in vol. ii., p. 65, of his *History of Scotland*.

No. 18.] II. Sanctissime Margarete.*

St. MARGARET, Queen of Malcolm (III.) Canmore. Born 1046; died 1093. Canonised in 1249 by Pope Innocent IV.

The insertion of this name and shield in the place where we should expect the presence of some living queen, either reigning or queen dowager, is a feature of some note. It was not, however, till 1537 that James V. obtained the hand of the short-lived French princess, Magdalene, and thereafter came to espouse his more famous Queen, Mary of Lorraine. The fact of the King being at this time a minor at once explains the absence of a *reigning* queen, but it is difficult to explain the omission of the living Queen Dowager, Margaret Tudor of England, the mother of the reigning Scottish sovereign. It is true that Margaret Tudor was not very prudent or fortunate during her widowhood, and on one occasion, presumably later than this blazon, caused Gavin Dunbar to be put in ward (1524), so rendering herself obnoxious in his eyes. Over and above the lurking jealousy felt towards the English ascendency, which she represented, a feeling of which we have seen traces in the previous series, the vagrancy of her affections may account for her being thus entirely ignored. That she acted very imprudently †

* The shield of St. Margaret is the only one of the forty-eight that can be said to bear a tinge of sentimental "fantasy". All the rest are veritable, and legitimate, being either of living, or recently living, personages, or of then existing corporations. This shield alone goes outside the then "visible diurnal sphere". On the whole, it remains true that there is a notable and creditable absence of the fantastic in this heraldic roll, especially when it is compared with the Heraldic MS. (lately reprinted) of Sir David Lindsay, who, in a similar array, introduces the arms of Prester John (viz., the Crucifixion), those of each of the Three Kings of Cologne, besides the "Nine Worthies"—three Jewish, three Pagan, and three Christian. The blazoned book of Sir David is, however, considerably subsequent to the erection of this roof; and hence, we may say, the keen sense of the Aberdonian for the actual, rejecting all "nonsense," is, in our heraldic roll, thus early manifest.

† Compare Sir David Lindsay on the chequered and descending personal fortunes of this Queen Margaret (Tudor) ("Testament of Papyngo," *Works*, vol. i., p. 83):

"Quho was more heych in honour elevate
Nor was Margareit, our heych and mychtie princess?
Sic power was to hir appropriate,
Of King and Realme she was governoress:
Yit come one change, within one schorte proces;

is clear from the statements vouched for by the best historians, that "Margaret Tudor divorces Angus, flirts with Albany, and has Henry Stuart as her paramour" (Pinkerton, *History of Scotland*, ii. 245). Sir Walter Scott, in his *Tales of a Grandfather*, chap. 26, has the sarcastic witticism, "It was the fate or the folly of Queen Margaret to form rash marriages. Like her brother, Henry VIII. of England, who tired of *his* wives, Margaret seems to have been addicted to tire of *her* husbands; but she had not the power of cutting the heads from the spouses whom she desired to be rid of."

She died at Methven, near Perth, 24th November, 1541 (J. H. Burton, iii., p. 363), and was buried in the Carthusian Church of St. John's Town (*i.e.*, Perth), near the tomb of James I. At the time of her death very little anticipation was entertained of the great succession, which, through her, was to fall in 1603 to the Stewart line.* Yet it is interesting to note that, according to Lord Bacon, the shrewd eye of her father, Henry VII. of England, saw the possibilities in the future that actually became realities. (See the passage in Bacon's *Life of Henry VII.*, toward the close, "The same year were the espousals," &c.)

Regarding the saintly and sainted Margaret who is acknowledged in the heraldic array, it is noteworthy that she was chosen, with the approval of Pope Clement X., Patroness of Scotland,† and had a peculiar pre-eminence in connection with the Royal Family as well of England as

That peirle preclare, that lusty plesand Quene
Lang tyme durst nocht in to the Court be sene."

To the ascending personal fortunes of this Queen the other great Scottish poet of the age had on three several occasions dedicated the early incense of his muse. Witness "The Thistle and the Rose" of William Dunbar; also his other gem of Scottish poetry on the occasion of the Queen's visit to Aberdeen, in May, 1511, with the refrain:

"Be blyth and blisful, Brugh of Aberdeen".

A third tribute is the poem (No. lxxxvii. in Small's Edition of *Dunbar*, Scottish Texts) beginning, "Gladethe thoue Queyne of Scottis regioun," in which she is celebrated as the "Mergreit," *i.e.*, *pearl* above all the precious stones, which he enumerates; also as the "Roys, *red and quhit*, resplendent of colour".

* The Banquo vision of the unborn kings "That two gold balls and triple sceptres carry" ("Macbeth," IV. 1, which is Shakspere's great allusion to the Succession), belongs to the year 1606.

† See note of Dr. Gregor in Rolland's *Court of Venus*, p. 205 (Scottish Texts).

of Scotland. Born in the year 1046 in Hungary,* where her father was then an exile, she was sister of the unfortunate Edgar Atheling and grandniece of the Confessor, and was married to Canmore in 1067. Besides being a Queen in Scotland, she was also the mother of three Kings (Edgar, Alexander I., and the saintly† David). Her name concentrates all that is impressive and imposing in a great historic memory, surcharged, however, with a momentous change in the fortunes, political and ecclesiastical, of her adopted country.

It is in her time and under her influence that the centre of political gravity shifts from the Celtic side of Scotland to the Saxon side, and Dunstaffnage and the West may be said to yield finally to Dunfermline‡ and the East. Thenceforth we hear no more of the burial of the Scottish kings as taking place at (Hy or) Iona. Malcolm (III.) Canmore, unlike the two previous Malcolms, is interred at Dunfermline, as also his Queen, and the Dalriadic associations of Royalty with the West are entirely broken. The last known Culdee or Gaelic Bishop of St. Andrews dies in the same year with Malcolm (III.) Canmore (E. W. Robertson, *Scotland*, i., p. 174), and the Culdees thereafter become a shadow in history. In the Royal Family the nomenclature is no longer Celtic; among the eight children of Margaret (six sons and two daughters), *not one* bears a *Celtic* name (Dr. Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, i., p. 203). What is more to be regretted is that the old ecclesiastical associations were greatly disturbed and obscured, and the Celtic Church of St. Columba, which had long been fading away from internal decay, became all but obliterated under the influence that radiated from Queen Margaret. The result, no doubt, was greater organic unity, a new and revived spiritual life and activity, and more of architectural and artistic ornateness than the Celtic period can show, but these advantages were purchased at the cost of the independence of the Scottish Church, which came more completely under subjection to the See of Rome. (On Queen Mar-

* "Dochter to Edward, prince and heretour to England, and of Agatha, dochter to Salomone, King of Wngarie" (Sir David Lindsay, in his *Heraldic Manuscript*, Edinb., 1878).

† "Saintly," for he was never actually canonised (J. H. Burton, *History of Scotland*, ii., p. 4).

‡ *Queen's*ferry and St. Margaret's Hope are names marking the footsteps of Margaret in the region near Dunfermline.

garet as the centre of this great "revolution," see the very favourable remarks of Joseph Robertson, *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxv., p. 116.)

The following is the summary of Dr. John Stuart regarding this Queen in his *Book of Deer* (Pref., p. cxi.):

"The portrait of the Saxon princess, as it is drawn in the pages of Turgot, her friend and spiritual adviser, commends her to our admiration as one of the purest, the most humble, and beneficent of women, while, as a queen, she appears to have combined with her personal graces admirable majesty of conduct and true love of her adopted country". (Consult further regarding St. Margaret,* *Statuta Eccl. Scot.*, i., p. xxi.; Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii., p. 344.)

The life of Queen Margaret, by Turgot, is the main source for the personal details of her history. Bishop Turgot, however, was not her sole spiritual adviser; she had the honour of enjoying likewise the counsel of Lanfranc, who, next to Anselm, and apart from Becket, is probably the greatest name in the roll of the Archbishops of Canterbury.

The armorial bearings which are here given to St. Margaret are those *assigned* to Edward the Confessor. These arms, however, are

* It must be owing to the influence which centres round the personality of Margaret that her name has been taken as a sobriquet for the Scottish nation, and hence the wits of Queen Anne's time speak accordingly of "Northern Peg," the sister of "John Bull".—It is through this Queen, as mother of Matilda, Queen of Henry I., that our Queen Victoria is directly descended from Alfred the Great. The early links are:

Alfred.
|
Edward the Elder.
|
Edmund the Elder.
|
Edgar.
|
Ethelred.
|
Edmund Ironside
(Half-brother of Edward the Confessor).
|
Edward the Exile.
|
MARGARET
(Sister of Edgar Atheling, grand-daughter of Edmund Ironside).
|
Matilda
(Queen of Henry I., A.D. 1100, whose union eventually fused Saxon and Norman royal blood, in the person of Henry II.).

an *ex post facto* creation (Arms of Attribution). Although not contemporary with King Edward, they are still an ancient assignation, and there is the further interest attaching to them that the quartering of these insignia of the Confessor with his own Norfolk arms proved fatal to young Surrey in 1547. It may be further noted that the sainted Margaret has here an ordinary warrior's or prince's shield. The comparatively modern practice of giving ladies' arms in lozenge form (except when queens regnant in their own right), though earlier in English heraldry, is in Scotland, as a rule (apart from the instance of the English Joan of Beaufort, queen of James I. of Scotland, in 1439—Seton's *Heraldry*, p. 208), later than this ascription. In Sir David Lindsay's Heraldic MS., St. Margaret has the lozenge form of shield in common with the other queens, also the ordinary impalement of arms. In this heraldic ceiling, however, the introduction of a single or solitary instance of the lozenge would have been felt to disturb the symmetry.

No. 19.] III. Albanie Ducis.

JOHN,* Duke of Albany.

This prince of the blood-royal is grandson of James II., being "son to Alexander, Duke of Albany, the brother of James III." (William Drummond, p. 81). The older branch bearing this title lasted only two generations, having come to an end in the execution of Murdoch and his sons, at the Heading Hill of Stirling, 1425. The house of Albany, to which, under its second creation, this Duke belonged, plays a part in Scottish history somewhat like the house of Orleans in that of France: both houses being of the blood-royal, but each antagonistic, either openly or covertly, if not disloyal, to the main regal stem.

"John, Duke of Albany," says Pinkerton (*History of Scotland*, ii., p. 133), "son of that Alexander who has been seen attempting to wrest the Scottish sceptre from his brother, James III., whom he termed a bastard, cannot be supposed to have been warmly attached to the royal race." On the 13th November, 1516, Parliament declares "Johne Duke of Albany, lauchfull sone of the said Alex^r and dame

* "Carissimus consanguineus noster, Johanes Dux Albanie, marchie, Garioth, Bolonie et Alvernie comes, Vallis Annandie et Mannie dominus." (This designation is found in a letter of James V. to the Pope, 1st May, 1517; *cf.* Theiners' *Vetera Monumenta*, p. 520.)

Agnes of Bouloigne, is the secund persoun of this realme". In his administration during the young King's minority, he never forgot his French birth, signing himself, accordingly, *Jehan*, and he was a wretched ruler. Hence he quitted the country on 20th May, 1524, "loaded with the execrations* of a people oppressed by the exactions and stung with the ignominy of his government".

Only in Sir David Lindsay do we find anything like a slightly favourable breeze of contemporary opinion about this Duke, viz., in the "Papyngo," where he is styled "the prudent Duke of Albanie"; and Douglas, in his *Peerage of Scotland*, characterises him, strangely, as a "wise, brave, and virtuous prince".

IV. Marchiar. Comitis. [No. 20.

DUNBAR, Earl of March.†

The last of the Dunbars who held this title was George, eleventh Earl, subjected to forfeiture in 1434. The next we hear of the title is its bestowal on Alexander, Duke of Albany, in 1478; but, he having also forfeited it through rebellion, the dignity reverted to the Crown. James VI. conferred it on Robert Stewart, second son of the Earl of Lennox. In the Scottish Peerage the name survives in the title of Earl of Wemyss and March. The title of Earl of March also appears among the honours of the Lennox stem of the ducal house of Gordon.

This is the highest in rank among the then existing Scottish earldoms, but it was one of those that had been crushed by James I., as is referred to with more detail under (Mar) No. VIII. (On Cospatric‡ (usually explained as *Comes* Patricius), who got from Malcolm III. (Canmore) the castle of Dunbar, and became the ancestor of the noble family of Dunbar, long prominent among the barons of the South as Earls of Lothian or March, see E. W. Robertson, *Scotland, &c.*, i., p. 138.)

* In Skelton, the English contemporary laureate, will be found scurrilous satires on this Duke of Albany and on Scotland at same time. Medals in honour of this Duke appear in Mr. Cochran-Patrick's *Medals of Scotland*, pp. 35, 36.

† The designation from the "March," or "Marches" (of which there were three—East, Middle, and West), was not confined to one family, and hence there is liability to confusion. Albany we find declared "Earl of March" (W. Drummond, p. 83), and "Lord Home, in James IV.'s time, is warden of all the Marches" (Pinkerton, ii., p. 93).

‡ Gospatric is a rival spelling, well authenticated.

No. 21.] V. Moravie Comitis Randulphi.

The arms of Randolph, Earl of Moray, the same as those illustriously described by Froissart. The *title* was now held by James Stewart, natural son of James IV. by the Lord Kennedy's daughter. He was created by letters patent in 1501, and held it till 1544, when, by his death without male issue, it reverted to the Crown. After a short bestowal upon the Earl of Huntly, it was given to another natural son of royalty, viz., James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews, who plays so prominent a part as the Regent Moray in the time of his ill-fated half-sister, Queen Mary.

The then existing Earl of Moray is here ignored by Gavin Dunbar, who gives effect to the older associations binding the title to Randolph, the friend of Robert Bruce in the Independence struggle. Being a native of the county of Moray and also of the lineage of Randolph, Gavin Dunbar was no doubt jealous of the due honour appertaining to such an earldom.

The history of this earldom goes deep into the early annals of Scotland. Among the salient points may be observed, (1) the extinction of the Celtic earldom, or rather kingship, in 1130, when David I. crushed the rebellion of Angus, Earl of Moray, at the battle of Stracathro (Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, iii., p. 7); (2) thereafter, its suppression till the time of Bruce, who bestowed it upon his nephew, Randolph; and (3) lastly, the struggle for the earldom in the reign of Queen Mary, a contest in which the house of Huntly was nearly overthrown.

No. 22.] VI. Douglasie Comitis.

Recognition is here given to the first or earliest stem of Douglases,* called the "Black" Douglases, who rose into eminence after the time

* On the "Bloody Heart" in the Douglas shield, see the ballad of the "Battle of Otterbourne" (Bishop Percy text):

"The blodye harte in the Dowglas arms,
Hys standerde stode on hye;
That every man myght full well knowe;
By syde stode starres thre.
The whyte Lyon on the Ynglysh parte,
Forsoth, as I you sayne,

of the good Sir James Douglas, Robert Bruce's friend, but at this period their fortunes were shattered and broken. The last of these earls was James, ninth Earl of Douglas, who, after the misfortunes of his house in the rebellion of 1455, escaped to England, and finally retired to the Abbey of Lindores, and died a monk in 1488. With him the title ended, and there was, therefore, no Earl of Douglas at this period; and the title seems here retained only as the shadow of the mighty name.*

VII. Angusie Comitis. [No. 23.

ARCHIBALD, sixth Earl of Angus. Succeeded 1514; died 1556.

The coat-armorial is here not that of the Douglas, the then Earl of Angus, one of whose line figures so prominently in "Marmion," but of the Umfravilles,† who held that earldom a long period before. Still, this rank and place, though not the arms, must belong to the representative of the Red Douglases of the time—viz., Archibald,‡ sixth Earl of Angus.

The earldom of Angus passed to the house of Douglas by marriage

The lucetts and the cressaunts both;
The Skotts faught them agayne."

The blazon is tolerably correct, except that "*Above* stode starres thre" would now be more accurate than "By syde". See the interesting note of Bishop Percy on the heraldry of the passage. The date of the battle was 5th August, 1388, but the date of the poem was probably under Henry VI., from 1422-61.

* Compare the lines of Sir David Lindsay, quoted under No. VII., beneath.

† On the mystic meaning of the "cinque-foil," as betokening the five senses and their mastery, as under control, see Guillim, p. 116.

‡ The vicissitudes in the fortunes of the house of Douglas, in both "Black" and "Red" branches, struck the contemporary age. Witness these lines, in the "Testament of the Papyngo" (anno 1530), by Sir D. Lindsay:

"Quhare bene the douchty Erlis of Dowglas,
Quhilkis royallie in to this region *rang?* [*i.e.*, reigned]
Forfalt, and slane, quhat nedith more proces?
The Erle of Marche wes merschellit tham amang;
Dame Curia thame dulefullie doun thrang;
And now, of lait, quho *clam* more heych amang us [*i.e.*, clomb or climbed]
Nor did Archebalde, umquhyle the Erle of Angus?"

—Sir D. Lindsay's *Works* (Ed. 1871), vol. i., p. 84.

about 1381. From George, third son of William, first Earl of Douglas, the Douglas house of Angus lineally descended. The bestowal upon this house of Angus of the territory appertaining to the Earl of Douglas was a political error, which reproduced in the younger line the same exorbitant ascendency which had been so harshly repressed in the elder line (Pinkerton, i., p. 238).

The Earl contemporary with Bishop Dunbar is grandson of Archibald,* "Bell the Cat," whom he succeeded in the earldom direct, owing to the death of the heir, his father, at Flodden. He played an important but wayward part in the politics of the time. He married the Queen-mother, Margaret Tudor, by whom he had issue, Lady Margaret Douglas, afterwards the mother of Darnley. In this succession, therefore, Darnley was grandson of Angus, and through him the blood of his grandfather Angus passed into the line of the Stewart kings who reigned in England, beginning with Darnley's son, James VI.† This Angus, the progenitor of kings, was vain and arrogant, a cruel, thoughtless man, and his quarrel with his wife, the Queen Dowager, was one of the scandals of a scandalous age. His character is found in W. Drummond (p. 82), where a full-length contemporary portrait of his character is given, as painted to Albany by Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews.

* The Angus who is "Bell the Cat" figures, in 1495, together with William, Bishop of Aberdeen, as witness to a royal charter of James IV. (*Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, p. 263), as "Comes Angusie, Dominus Dowglas".

† Earl of Angus + Margaret Tudor. James IV. + Margaret Tudor.
| |
Lady Margaret Douglas. James V.
m. Matthew, Earl of Lennox. *m.* Mary of Lorraine.
| |
Henry, Lord Darnley——+——Queen Mary Stuart.
|
James VI. (I. of England).

On this descent from Margaret Tudor, Sir Robert Gordon shrewdly remarks (*Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 249):

"Ther succeeded therfor to the kingdome of England James the Sixth descended of the same Margaret, both by father and mother; so that by a rare event in the pedigries of Kings, it seemed as iff the divyne Provydence (to extinguish and take away all invy and note of a stranger) had *doubled* upon his person within the circuit of one aige, the royal blood of England to both parents". It is worthy of remark that the name of Stewart for the English section of the dynasty (James I., Charles I., &c.), comes, not, as most people deem or assume, through the mother, Queen Mary, but through the *father*, Darnley, who also was a Stewart.

VIII. Marrie Comitis. [No. 24.

The earldom * of Mar, with the old earldoms of Strathern, March, and Lennox, had been crushed down by the first James, in order that its power and territories might be absorbed under the Crown. Accordingly, since 1435, the earldom had been in a kind of interregnum, more or less of an appanage to the royal house of Stewart. There was a strange fatality attending it: "Every one of the three Stewart Earls [to whom it was successively granted] was cut off, either in the bud or in the flower of his age. The dignity appeared to revolt against continued existence except in the lawful line." The last Earl of Mar, in the period preceding 1520, was John Stewart, third son of James III. He died in 1502, at the age of seventeen. (See "Kalendar of Ferne," in Bishop Forbes' *Kalendars, &c.*, p. xxviii.) After his death there was no attempt at regranting the title, either under James IV. or James V., until Queen Mary's reign. After an erroneous temporary concession of it, in 1561-2, to her illegitimate brother, James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews, which concession was subsequently withdrawn, Mary ultimately, in 1565, restored, or professed to restore, the old line in the family of Erskine, heir-general to the ancient earldom. (This earldom, in abeyance in 1520, seems here retained in this heraldic array, partly for old associations, as coming down from the Pictish time, and partly as territorially located in the district of Aberdeen.) In later time John, eleventh Earl of Mar (attainted in 1716), was made Duke of Mar in 1715 by the Chevalier St. George, and through his vaulting ambition the earldom came under a cloud, from which, through various Parliamentary vicissitudes, it has only recently emerged.†

* Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.*, x. 85; also xvi. 55), by a singular second sight of the future evanescent titular honour, has strangely got hold of, among the Scottish chiefs, a "*Duca* di Marra, Che nel travaglio porta il leopardo".

† Much interest attaches to the fateful history of this earldom, of which there are traces as far back as A.D. 1014. The two volumes of the late accomplished Earl of Crawford on the Mar peerage-question exhibit the points at issue; and the championship which he has bestowed on the claim of the heir-general inheriting through the female goes deep into the Scottish history both of the Celtic and Pictish periods. Of this earldom of Mar, Lord Crawford says:

"It is the only survivor of the ancient, I may say prehistoric, mormaerships of Scotland: its extinction would be tantamount to the loss of one of the brightest jewels which adorn the British crown, and I cannot consent to see it crushed down unjustly"

No. 25.] IX. Sutherlan. Comitis.

ADAM (GORDON), fourteenth Earl of Sutherland.

About the year 1514, Gordons came in to succeed the "Southerlans". The succession fell, on the death of her brother, John, ninth Earl, without legitimate issue, to Elizabeth Sutherland, wife of Adam Gordon of Aboyne, and her husband, by the custom of the age, assumed the title. From them descended Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland, wife of the Marquis of Stafford, who was created in 1833 Duke of Sutherland in the peerage of the United Kingdom. The stars of De Moravia in the Sutherland shield have thus shone long and far. This Adam, fourteenth Earl, died in Aboyne, 1537, and was there buried, leaving the reputation of being "a very provident, valiant, and wyse man" (Sir R. Gordon, *Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 106). The same authority says quaintly regarding him: "This Adam, Earle of Southerland, and his brother, Alexander, Earle of Huntlie, did both live to bury their eldest sones, gentlemen of singular hope and of great expectation, which office by course of nature they should have executed to their fathers" (*ibid.*, p. 183).

No. 26.] X. Crafurdie Comitis.

DAVID,* eighth Earl of Crawford; Earl from 1517-1542.

The head of the house of Lindsay succeeded on the death of his father, Alexander, seventh Earl, who died in 1517. This earldom (dating from 1388) is of note as having been "the third created since the extinction of the Celtic dynasty, that of Douglas (created by David

(Lord Crawford's *Earldom of Mar*, i., p. 40). [In calling it the *only* survivor, the noble writer seems to have overlooked the title of Sutherland in this regard.]

So (i., p. 176) his Lordship quotes Mr. Riddell in corroboration, who says:

"Mar is not only now the oldest Scottish earldom by descent, but in many respects the most remarkable in the Empire; for the present Earl [1842] is the direct heir-at-law, through a long and illustrious ancestry, of persons who were Earls of Mar *ab initio*, and never known under any other character.

"'Certa retro series' *comitum*, 'sed cujus origo
Oceani cum fonte latet.'"

* In Sir D. Lindsay's "Squyer Meldrum" occurs the line:

"First, David Erll of Craufuird, *wise* and *wicht*".

II.) having been the second, and that of Moray (created by Robert Bruce) the first" (*Lives of the Lindsays*, vol. i., p. 97).

In 1489, the title of Duke of Montrose was bestowed on the then fourth Earl of Crawford, but only for the life of the holder (Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*, p. 158). In the roll of Parliament of 1489 appears "Dux de Montross" at the head of the "Barones" or Nobility.

XI. Huntlie Comitis. [No. 27.

ALEXANDER, third Earl of Huntly. Died 1523.

This Earl Alexander, head of the house of Gordon, is the elder brother of Adam Gordon, who became Earl of Sutherland by his marriage with the heiress of the Sutherlands. (See No. IX.)

The *original* family of Gordon, which proceeded from the Borders, bringing thence the name of Huntly, came, in respect to its eldest branch, to a close in the male line in the person of Sir Adam Gordon ("Dominus de Gordon et Huntly"), killed at the battle of Homildon in 1402. He left an only daughter, Elizabeth, who married Sir Alexander Seton, second son of Sir William Seton of that Ilk, ancestor of the Earls of Winton. This Sir Alexander Seton obtained charters in which he was designed "Alexander Seton, Lord of Gordon and Huntly". The son of Sir Alexander Seton* and Elizabeth Gordon

* The representation of the Gordons in the *male* succession is believed to belong to the Gordons of Pitlurg. The titled houses bearing in our day the dukedom and the marquisate are known to be properly Setons, and it is still common to hear them spoken of around the firesides of the North as the "Seton-Gordons". The circumstance is of some note, as we learn that the great ornament of their name and line, Lord Byron, has left it on record, that his mother (*née* Miss Gordon of Gight) made this a point of pride as to her ancestral line: "My mother," says the poet, "was as haughty as Lucifer with her descent from the Stuarts and her right line from the *old* Gordons—not the *Seyton*-Gordons, as she disdainfully termed the ducal branch". The poet, when a boy, according to Moore, his biographer, made himself out and out a Scotsman (*Life*, chap. 12), insisting on being called "George Byron Gordon". It is a misfortune that the poet did not persevere in this resolve, as in that case the laurel of the Muse would have wreathed with yet more conspicuous lustre the great Aberdeenshire name. [This shows, I fear, that Mrs. Gordon Byron was indifferently versed in her own pedigree, as the Gordons of Gight were indubitably "Seton-Gordons," descending from Sir William Gordon, son of George, second Earl of Huntly, and the Princess Annabella Stuart. Sir William received Gight from his father, who acquired it from the daughters of Sir Patrick Maitland of Gight.—Note by Correspondent.]—Seal of this third Earl of Huntly, 1503, in Laing's *Scottish Seals*, ii., p. 72.

is Alexander, Lord Gordon, who is created Earl of Huntly in 1449, and performs at the battle of Brechin the service of "keeping the king's crown on the king's head" by crushing the rebellious movement of Earl Crawford, confederate with Earl Douglas. The ducal house of Gordon and the marquisate of Huntly, which are afterwards to diverge, are as yet both in the loins of this Earl.

No. 28.] XII. Archadie Comitis.

COLIN, third Earl of Argyle. Succeeded 1513; died 1533.

His father, the previous Earl (Archibald, second Earl), fell at Flodden. He is the chief of the Clan Campbell, whose representative appears in the roll of the Barons in Robert Bruce's time (see p. 50). The Celtic title of MacCailin* Mor signifies "son of the great Colin," a chieftain who flourished about the year 1300.

No. 29.] XIII. Erolie Comitis.

WILLIAM, sixth Earl of Errol. Son of the fifth Earl, who perished at Flodden in 1513.

He is the head of the house of Hay,† and hereditary Constable‡ of Scotland. The title is derived from the parish of Errol, near Perth,

* "MacCallum More," though now imbedded in our literature, is a mistake in form, being one of Sir Walter's venial mistakes in Gaelic transliterations. It is unfortunate that his genius has stamped its indelible impression on what is an error; for "Callum" is Celtic for "Malcolm," whereas the potent chief from whom the race of Campbell received its great propulsion bore the name of "Colin". (The Gallic "Cailean" or "Colin" is said to be only another form of "Cuilean," "whelp".)

† The classical scholar will turn to Buchanan's charming narrative of the story (*Hist.*, Book vi.) and will not feel less enjoyment because of the croak of the historical critic as to the anachronism of a surname introduced before surnames yet were (E. W. Robertson, *Scotland, &c.*, i., p. 117). The reference to "the Arms" is in these words: "Insignia ferenda, uti mos est nobilitati, data: scutum argenteum, in cujus solo tria scuta rubricata insunt". The motto of the family, "Serva jugum," alludes to the "yoke of the plough," said to have been used so effectually by the husbandman and his two sons.—About this motto a curious local jest was once current. Some forty years ago a tavern in the hollow of Spital exhibited the Errol arms with the Latin motto in full display. The jocular students of those days regularly rendered it accordingly, "Serve the jug," much to the satisfaction of the Boniface within.

‡ Constable is from the French "Connestabile," from "Comes stabuli".

and tradition, or rather fable, strives to connect the rise of the family with that locality, at the battle of the "Leys o' Luncarty" against the Danes about A.D. 980. The legend as to the sudden services in battle of the peasant and his sons is the same story as appears in "Cymbeline" (Act v., Sc. 3) (*Lives of Lindsays*, Pref., p. xviii.). [It is worthy of note that Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.*, x. 87) has heard of the "Conte d'Erelia" —*i.e.*, Errol—among the Scottish chiefs.]

[The real origin of the house must be sought for in the rise of the great Norman "de la Hayes," whose name appears in the roll of Battle Abbey, and who were great manorial seigneurs in England before David I. brought his Southern friends in such numbers northward. A protest must, therefore, be entered against the story of Boece, who boldly derives them from a "Celtic savage race, yet represented as ploughing where ploughs were unheard of for centuries later".] In Barbour, the name is always "de la Haye," and see No. 18 in the roll of Bruce's Barons, p. 50.

XIV. Mariscalli Comitis. [No. 30.

WILLIAM, third Earl Marischal.* Succeeded about 1510; died 1530.

Head of the house of Keith. Had charge of the young prince, James V., in his minority, in the castle of Edinburgh, 1520.

* The function of the Marischal or "Marc-scalc" (*i.e.*, horse-servant; *cf. schal* of seneschal) was originally, like that of the Constable, connected with the royal stable. In the Salic Law the "Maréchal" is counted among the "un-frei" servitors, and is coupled with the "*faber ferrarius*" or "smith," important precursor of the engineer of our day. In a still more primitive state of society, as in that of ancient Thrace, the king is on a level with his groom (Montaigne, i., chap. 40). The duties of such an officer increased in dignity with the growing importance of the *chevalerie*, until at last the name has assumed the form of "Marshal," "Field-Marshal," or commander of the *whole* army, and so has virtually become in modern times the highest military title. In ancient days the "Magister Equitum" in Rome seemed at one time likely to attain an importance like that of the "Marischal" in medieval times, but the cavalry played an inferior rôle relatively in the Roman military economy, and so the "Magister Equitum" under Rome subsided eventually into comparative obscurity. (See E. W. Robertson (*Scotland, &c.*, i., pp. 313, 315), who thinks it a composite word, with the first part (*i.e.*, "marc") Celtic, the second Teutonic—*i.e.*, "schalk". But Dieffenbach considers the German form of Marschal, Seneschal, &c., to have been *borrowed* by the Germans from the Romance Nations). The ascent in dignity of the name "Marshal" is worth noting, in contrast with the descent in dignity of the title "Constable," unless we bring in the "Provost-Marshal," with his coercive functions, to redress the balance.

The Scottish form of this title bears homage to the French "Maréchal" rather than to the English dissyllabic "Marshal".

On the various and chequered fortunes of this house—the sole family among the nobles of Scotland that had the exclusive honour of founding a College which grew into a University—see *Collections on Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, pp. 191-2, Sp. Cl.

No. 31.] XV. Bochtuil[i]e Comitis.

PATRICK HEPBURN, Earl of Bothwell. Succeeded 1513;* died 1533.†

Father of the Patrick (third Earl of Bothwell) who, in Pitscottie's picturesque narrative of the palace gossip of the time, is the rival of the Earl of Lennox for favour at the Court of Mary of Guise.. He is also the grandfather of the notorious James, last Earl of Bothwell, the husband of Queen Mary, who created him Duke of Orkney.

The creation of this ill-fated earldom‡ was effected under special circumstances contrasting sorely with its lurid eclipse, after a century, in gloom and shame. In the Acts of Parliament of 1488 appears a formal deed setting forth the virtues of nobility in the case of "Patricius," who, using his great ascendency which he acquired with the young King after the battle of Sauchie, is created Earl, "and is girt with a sword, as the manner is, in order that himself and his heirs may in all time coming shine fulgeant with the dignity of Earl" (*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 206).

No. 32.] XVI. Hobe Aberdonie.

THE CITY OF ABERDEEN.

The three towers on the shield have been thought to be significant

* The previous Earl, who fell at Flodden (1513), figures in the poem of "Flodden Field," edited by Henry Weber (8vo, Edinb., 1808), p. 111.

† Died 1534 (Sir R. Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*).

‡ Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh says quaintly: "It was hereditary to the house of Hailes to be kind to the widow Queens, as Patrick to Queen Jean, widow of King James I.; his son to Queen Mary of Gelderland; Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, to Queen Mary of Lorraine, widow of King James V.; his son to Queen Mary" (Cosmo Innes, in *National Manuscripts of Scotland*, part iii., No. xxiv.).

of the triple hills (*Collections on Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, pp. 43, 124-5, Sp. Cl.), formerly within the Burgh, viz., Castle-hill, Gallow-hill, or Port-hill, and St. Catherine's-hill. (See Mr. Farquhar Shand's Preface to *Bishop Patrick Forbes' Funerals*, p. xxiv., Spottiswood Club.) In p. 20 of Parson Gordon's *Description of both Towns of Aberdeen* (Sp. Cl.) is found a detailed description, not entirely accurate, of the arms of the city.

*** Roll of Scottish Nobility in Time of Robert Bruce, 1320.

From the famous letter of Barons of Scotland to Pope John XXII.,* who was one of the Avignon series of Popes and of French origin. In this document, which was drawn up at the Abbey of Arbroath in justification of the Scottish claim to political independence, we have the muster roll of the nobility of Scotland at a date exactly two centuries before the period when Gavin Dunbar designed the heraldic ceiling. The Bishops and clergy are not included, probably as having already given, as early as 1309, under circumstances indicating still greater courage, long before the fortunes of Bruce came to be assured, a similar declaration in favour of the Bruce (found as No. xvii. of Part v. of *National Manuscripts of Scotland*). (The County of Angus has also the honour of being the scene where this earlier declaration on the part of the clergy was enacted. It was framed at the Church of the Friars Minors at Dundee.)

1. Duncanus, Comes de Fyfe.
2. Thomas Ranulphi, Comes Moraviæ, Dominus Manniæ et Vallis Anandiæ.

* See *National Manuscripts of Scotland*, Part ii., No. xxiv.—This great document, of which our Scottish nation has reason to be proud, is among the most memorable State Papers ever penned in the annals of any kingdom. It is simply magnificent in its comparison of Robert Bruce to Judas Machabæus, and is ever memorable for the declaration that even if Robert Bruce were to give up the struggle for independence they would disown and depose him. As a piece of composition, it ought to be studied in every Grammar School in Scotland; and Cosmo Innes applauds the schoolmaster who used this letter as an exercise for his boys in Latin, holding that its patriotism atoned for any defects in its Latinity.—From such inspiration Barbour no doubt drew his patriotic outburst, "Ah, fredome is a nobil thing!"

3. Patricius de Dunbar, Comes Marchiæ.
4. Malisius, Comes de Strathern.
5. Malcolmus, Comes de Levenax.
6. Willielmus, Comes de Ross.
7. Magnus, Comes Cathaniae et Orcadiæ.
8. Willielmus, Comes Sutherlandiæ.
9. Walterus, Senescallus Scotiæ.
10. Willielmus de Soules, Battelarius Scotiæ.
11. Jacobus, Dominus de Douglas.
12. Rogerus de Moubray.
13. David Dominus de Brechine.
14. David de Grahame.
15. Ingelramus de Umfraville.
16. Joannes de Meneteith, Custos Comitatus de Meneteith.
17. Alexander Frazer.
18. Gilbertus de Haia, Constabularius Scotiæ.
19. Robertus de Keith, Mariscallus Scotiæ.
20. Henricus de Sancto Claro.
21. Joannes de Grahame.
22. David de Lindesey.
23. Willielmus Olifant.
24. Patricius de Grahame.
25. Joannes de Fenton.
26. Willielmus de Abernethie.
27. David de Weyms.
28. Willielmus de Monte Fixo.*
29. Fergusius de Ardrosan.
30. Eustachius de Maxwell.
31. Willielmus de Ramsay.
32. Willielmus de Monte Alto.†
33. Alanus de Moravia.
34. Dowenaldus Campbell.
35. Joannes Camburn.‡

* Probably = Mount-Fitchet.

† Probably = *Monhaut*, or Mowat, perhaps from *Mont-haut* in Brittany on the frontier of Normandy.

‡ Probably = Cambroun.

36. Reginaldus de Chen.
37. Alexander de Seton.
38. Andreas de Lescelyne.
39. Et Alexander de Straton.
(Caeterique Barones et Libere tenentes, &c.)*

* The student of Scottish History will find in the examination of this Roll many points of great interest in contrast with the Roll of nobility which we have been considering, as it appears emblazoned two centuries later in the Heraldic Ceiling. We can only briefly note meantime the presence here of some of the old Pictish earldoms still surviving (Fife, Strathern), but now being broken in upon by the newer creations, such as Randolph, Earl of Moray; the rise of families of hereditary officials not yet in the titled Peerage, *Steward*, *Constable*, *Butler*, &c.; the absence of the house of Gordon, who are still in vassalage to the Earls of March, and who joined Bruce later; the advent of the yet untitled houses of Douglas, Lindsay, Grahame (three entries), St. Clair, &c., and of the Norman families, engrafted on Celtic stems, such as Frazer or Frisel, and also the great race of Campbell.

END OF SERIES OF SCOTTISH ROYALTY AND NOBILITY.

CHAPTER V.

ECCLESIÆ SCOTICANÆ EPISCOPORUM SERIES.

SCOTTISH ECCLESIASTICAL DIGNITIES.—CENTRE ROW.

No. 33.] I. Pontificis Romani.*

POPE LEO X. (1513-21).

THE Roman Pontiff who is contemporary with the erection of the heraldic ceiling is Giovanni de' Medici, otherwise Leo X., whom, therefore, Gavin Dunbar has placed as the Head of the Church, and consequently of the Scottish Hierarchy. He was the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent,† and became the pupil of Politian; was born at Florence in 1475, and died on the 1st December, 1521, after a Pontificate of eight years eight months and twenty days. He was the first of the Medici family to attain the Tiara.

The age in which he appeared was the period when art was being breathed upon by the spirit of antiquity, and the Renaissance on the

* The three *fleurs-de-lis* on "one of the torteaux in orle," or, as they are rather styled, "palle" or balls, in this pontifical shield, are memorable, as showing the intimate alliance "entre la maison de France et celle de Medicis". Montaigne remarks, in his visit to Florence (*Voyages*, ii. 56), that throughout the city, and notably in the palace, "les fleurs-de-lis tiennent le premier rang d'honneur". It was Louis XI. who, in 1465, as Lorenzo himself says (Roscoe, *Life of Lorenzo*, p. 493), "in acknowledgment of the friendship between our family and the house of France, decorated our arms with three golden *fleurs-de-lis* on a field azure, which we now bear. I have the King's letters patent by me, with his seal attached."—In Leo X.'s *Pontifical* seal, the Medici arms are given *without* the French appendage (Trésor Numismatique, *Sçeaux des Communes, &c.*, p. 40).

† Giovanni's mother was one of the *Orsini* family, which gave occasion to various epigrams on the singular descent of a *Leo* from an *Ursa*.

south side of the Alps was in full development. As the patron of art and letters, Leo X. occupies an epoch-making position, and hence the apostrophe of Pope:

> "But see, each muse in Leo's golden days
> Starts from her trance and trims her withered bays".

Notwithstanding the blaze of splendour that now surrounds his name, it is remarkable that the recent rise of his house from the ranks of the mercantile aristocracy was regarded in his own age as that of *parvenus*, and our own Mary, who had felt the hauteur of Catherine de' Medici at the French Court, once let fall the gibe that she (Catherine) was none other than "a merchant's daughter" (*figlia d'un mercante*) (Jos. Robertson's *Inventories, &c.*, p. xv.). This house, however, was destined to give three occupants to the Papal Chair subsequent to Leo X. (viz., Clement VII., Pius IV., and Leo XI.), a larger number than any other single Italian family can boast of having supplied.

The Popedom in Leo's time, is now at its culminating point of power and splendour.* Territorially considered, the Roman See had in immediate dependence, at the time of Leo X., a larger portion of Italy than at any other single period that can be named. Tuscany had come as a patrimonial appanage to the States of the Church, so that Central Italy was in entire subjection to the Papal sway. As regards his intellectual position, Leo himself does much to favour the advance of science, as well as of art and literature. He prepares the way for the Gregorian reform of the Calendar, receives the dedication, under the Greek verses of Musurus, of the *Editio Princeps* of Plato, accepts, in his early days as Cardinal, the same honour from Erasmus in the dedication of the Greek New Testament, is the ardent patron of Greek learning, indites Latin iambic verses upon occasion, and is in his time the centre and leader of the Renaissance, a movement which was ultimately to dissolve the more visible links of the Papal power. The irony of history has been seldom seen in a form so notable—the chief

* The words of Erasmus may justify the ascription: "Quantum Romani Pontificis fastigium inter reliquos mortales eminet, tantum LEO inter Romanos pontifices excellit" (Erasmus, *Epist.* 30).

magician busy in dissolving the spell by which he held the world enchained.*

In forming a judgment of the character of Leo X., we can only allude in general terms to the estimates, more or less favourable, advanced by such Northern authors as Ranke or Roscoe. The delineations by his own countrymen, Paul Sarpi and Pallavicini, are of more interest and value, and deserve to be given at large, as being carefully drawn but mutually confirmatory portraitures by rival and in some respects antagonistic artists. They are as follows:

"Leo X.," says Paul Sarpi, "displayed singular proficiency in polite literature, wonderful humanity, benevolence and mildness; the greatest liberality and an extreme inclination to favour excellent and learned men; insomuch that for a long course of years, no one had sat on the pontifical throne that could in any degree be compared to him. He would indeed have been a perfect pontiff, if to these accomplishments he had united some knowledge in matters of religion, and a greater inclination to piety, to neither of which he appeared to pay any great attention."

These animadversions of Fra Paolo are thus adverted to by his opponent Pallavicini, who has entered very fully into the consideration of this part of the character of Leo X. "It has been asserted by Paolo," says this writer, "that Leo was better acquainted with profane literature than with that called sacred, and which appertains to religion, in which I by no means contradict him. Having received from God a most capacious mind and a studious disposition, and finding himself

* Ariosto's grand stanza in his honour shows a sense of the gathering storms then encircling the Pontifical throne:

"Tu, gran Leone, a cui premon le terga
Delle chiave del Ciel le gravi some," &c.—*Orl. Fur.*, xvii. 79.

Thus translated by Hoole:

"Thou, mighty Leo, to whose hand is given
The glorious charge to bear the keys of Heaven,
If thine the trust our Italy to keep,
Let her not perish in lethargic sleep:
Thou art her shepherd: God on thee bestows
The sacred crook, and, Leo, thee He chose,
That thy loud roar might terror round extend,
And thy strong arm thy sheep from wolves defend".

whilst yet almost in his infancy placed in the supreme senate of the Church, Leo was wanting in his duty by neglecting to cultivate that department of literature, which is not only the most noble, but was the most becoming his station. This defect was more apparent when, being constituted at thirty-seven years of age the president and chief of the Christian religion, he not only continued to devote himself to the curiosity of profane studies, but even called into the Sanctuary of religion itself those who were better acquainted with the fables of Greece and the delights of poetry, than with the history of the Church and the doctrines of the fathers. Nor will I affirm," says the same author, "that he was as much devoted to piety as his station required, nor undertake to commend or to excuse all the conduct of Leo X., because to pass over that which exists in suspicion, rather than in proof [as scandal always delights to affix her spots on the brightest characters, that their deformity may be more apparent], it is certain that the attention which he paid to the chase,* to amusements, and to pompous exhibitions, although it might in part be attributed to the manners of the age, in part to his high rank, and in part to his own natural disposition, was no slight imperfection in one who had attained that eminence among mankind which requires the utmost degree of perfection."

It was from this pope (Leo X.) that Gavin Dunbar received his promotion to the See of Aberdeen, and hence the place of honour here accorded to him. The erector of the ceiling lived to see two other Popes ascend the Pontifical Chair—viz., Adrian VI., in 1522, and Clement VII., in 1523. The last, indeed, outlived Bishop Dunbar by two years having survived to 1534. It was at this time that the final change took place whereby only Italians have been preferred to the Pontificate, Adrian VI., a native of Utrecht, the tutor of Charles V., having been the last occupant of the Papal See, *not* of Italian birth.†

* Without dwelling on the darker insinuations descending from Leo's time as to his character and Pagan or infidel opinions, it does appear that his addiction to the pleasures of the chase is vouched for under the best testimony, as the following note (Roscoe, vol. ii., p. 510) shows, describing his attire on these occasions: "Fuit cum stola, sed pejus *sine rochetto*, et quod pessimum, cum *stivalibus* sive ocreis (greaves or leggin's) in pedes, munitus". Regarding his personal appearance generally, see Roscoe (vol. ii. 355 and 377).

† Not a few Spaniards and Frenchmen in the middle ages rose to the Papal Chair, but none from the British Isles, except once, in the case of an Englishman (Breakspear), whom we shall have to refer to afterwards, and who, in his actings as Pope, did not forget that he

No. 34.] II. Sanctiand. Archiep.

Archbishop ANDREW FORMAN (1514-22).

The Archiepiscopal See of St. Andrews* was then held by Andrew Forman or Foreman, son of Foreman of Hutton in Berwickshire; previously Archbishop of Bourges, in the centre of France, and, in Scotland, Bishop of Moray. Was Primate and Legate, and a great pluralist, who brought discredit on the Romish Hierarchy. Before 1472 the See was only episcopal; for, although many attempts were made to obtain the Pallium from the Pope, and even the "sore sanct to the crown," King David, endeavoured to secure the concession, the English influence at the Court of Rome was always successful in preventing any acknowledgment of any of the Scottish ecclesiastical dignitaries as Archbishop and Metropolitan; until at length Sixtus IV. raised St. Andrews in that year (1472) to the rank of an Archbishopric.

The dignitary, now occupying the See, was largely employed in public capacities and embassies. Among other offices of trust he had acted as one of the three Scottish commissioners charged to negotiate the marriage of Margaret Tudor with James IV., on which so much was to hinge in aftertime. (See Pinkerton, ii., pp. 39, 65, 85-6; also William Drummond, p. 82.)

The contest for the Archiepiscopal See of St. Andrews, consequent on the death of Elphinston, who had been *nominated* to that high position, which, however, he never filled, was fierce and animated. Hepburn, the Prior of St. Andrews, and Gawain Douglas, Bishop of

was an Englishman. He is known in the line of Popes under the name of Adrian IV. Alexander V. was nearly another instance; but though a graduate of Oxford—the sole graduate of either English University that wore the Tiara—he was by birth a Cretan. Thus no Scotsman or Irishman ever rose to the Papal Chair, and although a Pope travelled in Scotland, he was not Pope at the time (Æneas Sylvius, afterwards (1458) Pope Pius II.) (Piccolomini). See notes of his Scottish travels in *Stat. Eccl. Scot.*, p. xci.

* St. Andrew is also the patron saint of the Cathedral of Wells in Somerset, being chosen as "mitissimus Apostolorum" (Dean Plumptre on Wells, *Contemporary Review*, January, 1888). The Scots were not unaware of his priority, as a disciple, to his brother St. Peter. *Cf.* Fordun (*Scotichronicon*, 6-49), where there is praise of "Sanctorum *mitissimi* Andreae apostoli . . . vocatione etiam ad apostolatum primi". On the story of St. Regulus, or St. Rule, which has Greek or Byzantine rather than Roman associations, see *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxv., p. 109.

Dunkeld, whose escutcheons are both found appearing later in this series, had been among the competitors against Forman. Douglas had the English influence on his side, being presented to it by the Queen; Hepburn was chosen by the Chapter of the Canons, but Forman had the Papal influence, and ultimately prevailed.

In Drummond's *History*, p. 82, there is an interesting sketch of Forman's character, as portrayed by John Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews, at the time when he (the Prior) is instructing John, Duke of Albany, on his return from France, as to the intricacies of Scottish polity. "The third (powerful agent)," says he, "was the Archbishop Andw Forman, once secretary to the Pope, who, though he was not of any noble stem or descent of blood, nor, for his followers, friends, and adherents, much to be taken notice of or feared, yet considering him, as his legateship, plurality of benefices, many pensions from princes, had guilded him over, and, balancing him by his present treasure, *he could make a weak party strong and add weight to what side soever he inclined. He was therefore with piercing eyes to be looked into*, and all his actions and ways to be observed." *

III. Glasgwen. Archiep. [No. 35.

Archbishop JAMES BEATON, 1509-22 (Glasg.); 1522-39 (St. And.).

The See of Glasgow † became Archiepiscopal in 1491 (Cosmo Innes, *Sketches*, p. 61), under Bull of Innocent VIII. Long before, how-

* It is of Andrew Foreman that Pitscottie (p. 255) tells the absurd anecdote, that having once to entertain the Pope and Cardinals at dinner, and being in the act of saying grace, the Bishop, "who was not ane guid schollar, nor had not guid Latine," was perplexed and put out by the responses of the Italians, and losing presence of mind and patience, "he wist not weill how to proceed fordward, bot happened in guid Scottis, in this manner, sayand quhilk they understuid not, 'The divill I give yow, all false cardinallis, to, *in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti*'. 'Amen,' quoth they. Then the bishop and his men leugh, and all the cardinallis themselffis." (Seals of Andrew Foreman in H. Laing's *Scottish Seals*, i. 148; ii. 176.)

† The Chapter of the Cathedral of Glasgow had the distinction of enrolling James IV. among its Canons: a circumstance not forgotten in Joseph Robertson's glowing panegyric on Glasgow Cathedral and its historic memories: "It has seen a king serving at its altars; for as the Emperor was a canon of Cologne, and the French monarch a prebendary of Tours, so a Scottish sovereign—the devout and chivalrous King James of Flodden—had a stall in the choir and a seat in the Chapter of Glasgow" (*Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxv., p. 135).—In Spain, the king is canon of Leon, of Burgos, and of Toledo, with appropriate stalls.

ever, in 1174, Pope Alexander III. declared Glasgow to be "specialem filiam nostram nullo mediante," intended, no doubt, as a rebuke to York and its pretensions (E. W. Robertson, i., p. 182).

James Beaton (or Bethune), sixth and youngest son of John Beaton of Balfour in Fife, was Archbishop from 1509 to 1522; afterwards translated to St. Andrews. He became, for a short time, Chancellor of Scotland in 1515, after the death of Bishop Elphinston. To him, as well as to the young king, Boece dedicated his *History of Scotland.* He is the uncle of the more famous Cardinal (David Beaton); and his best title to remembrance is that he founded St. Mary's College in St. Andrews.* It was this Beaton to whom Gawain Douglas made the famous remark when, in their altercation, was heard the rattle of Beaton's corslet: "My Lord, your conscience is not guid, for *I hear it clattering*" (Pitscottie). (Seal of Archb. Beaton, in Laing, i. 149.)

The brilliant nephew (Cardinal David Beaton), who was afterwards to set like a lurid star under so tragic a destiny, has not at this time (1520) appeared above the horizon. Bishop of Mirepoix in Languedoc, he became also Abbot of Arbroath, and in 1538 Coadjutor-Archbishop and Cardinal. Excepting Walter Wardlaw of Glasgow who was made Cardinal in 1385, David Beaton appears to be the sole prelate of Scotland on whom, under the undivided Western Church, the dignity of Cardinal was bestowed (*Stat. Eccl. Scot.*, p. 130).

* Among the experiences of this prelate was the rough handling which he received in 1524, after his translation to Glasgow, when he was "wardit," together with Gavin Dunbar, by the Queen-Mother. (See Appendix, on Life of Gavin Dunbar.) It was this Archbishop Beaton who, at a later period, officiated at the marriage of King James V. to Mary of Lorraine in the Cathedral of St. Andrews (June, 1538) (Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, p. 36). In the vicissitudes of courtly fortune, he is a mark for the commiseration of Sir D. Lindsay ("Testament of Papyngo"):

> "The Archebischop of Sanct Androus, *James Betoun*,
> Chancellare and Primate in power pastorall,
> Clam, nyxt the kyng, moste heych in this regioun,
> The ledder schuke, he lap, and gat ane fall," &c.

This is a companion picture to Sir David's well-known poem on the younger Beaton, "The Tragedie of the Cardinall".

IV. Dunkelden. Episcopi. [No. 36.

GAVIN or GAWAIN DOUGLAS * (Bishop, 1516-22).

The honour of standing next to the two Archbishops, and, therefore, of appearing foremost among the Bishops, appertains to the gifted scion of the house of Douglas, son, brother, and uncle to Earls of Angus, the immortal Gawain, who then held the Bishopric of Dunkeld. From its relation to Iona and to St. Columba,† this See usually, if not always, ranked next to the two Archiepiscopal Sees. Hence Wyntoun (*Cron.*, vi. 8) pronounces Dunkeld "off oure byschoprykis, off renowne *The thryd*, and reputatioun". In temporal benefits, as well as in spiritual rank, it was an eligible position; and Gawain himself describes it as "an rycht guid Byschopry of rent, and the thryd seyt (*i.e.*, See) of the realm" (*Letter of Gawain Douglas*, Small's Edition, p. xxxvi.).

Gawain is the third and youngest son of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus ("Bell the Cat"), by Elizabeth, only daughter of Robert, Lord

* The following are the chief literary tributes to Gawain Douglas, taken from his contemporaries: (1) "Ane richt nobill and worschipfull clerk" (Head of MS. of Douglas's *Virgil* in Trinity College, Cambridge. See Small's Edition of *Gavin Douglas*, i., p. clxxiii.).

(2) "The Palace of Honour,
Maid be Gawine dowglas of Dunkell,
Bischop, and als ane honest oratour,
Profound poet and perfite Philosophour;
Into his dayis, above all bure the bell."

(Jhone Rolland in "Court of Venus," p. xx. of Dr. Gregor's Edition (Scottish Text Society). Or, Sir David Lindsay's tribute ("Testament of Papyngo"):—

(3) "Allace! for me, quhilk lamp wes of this land,
Of eloquence the flowand balmy strand,
And in our Inglis rethorick, the rose,
As of rubeis the charbunckle bene chose,
And, as Phebus dois Cynthia precell,
So Gawane Dowglas, Byschope of Dunkell," &c.

† The erection of Dunkeld into a Bishop's See falls within the reign of the Pictish Constantine, 789-820, and is the sole act of that prince transmitted to us. This event was the direct consequence of the inroads of the Northern and still Pagan Vikings, whose ravages forced the monks to leave Iona, bearing with them to Dunkeld a portion of the relics of St. Columba (E. W. Robertson's *Scotland, &c.*, i., pp. 23-41; also, Cosmo Innes, *Sketches*, p. 207: J. H. Burton, *History of Scotland*, i., pp. 305-6).

Boyd, High Chamberlain of Scotland. Born about 1474; Rector of Hawick, 1496; Provost of St. Giles, 1509; he was one of the competitors for the Archiepiscopal See of St. Andrews when Forman was successful. Had a stormy entry into his Bishopric in 1516; "when he came to take possession of his throne, he was opposed by a shower of shot from the cathedral tower and bishop's palace; and it was not until the power of his still mighty house had been gathered from Fife and Angus that he obtained access to his church—'thanks to the intercession of St. Columba,' says the Chronicle, 'without loss of life or limb'" (*Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxv., p. 142).

Involved in the political struggles in which his nephew, the Earl of Angus, was expelled by the Regent Albany, Gawain was forced to betake himself to England, where we find him in a famous autograph letter appealing to Wolsey in 1521. From this letter we gather that Bishop Douglas came to solicit the aid of Henry VIII. in restoring his nephew Angus to power, on the plea of thereby securing the safety of the young King, James V., who was alleged to be in danger from the ambitious designs of Albany, in whose hands he was. The Bishop was favourably received by the English King, who assigned him a pension. Gawain, however, had the misfortune to fall a victim to the plague in September, 1522, and died in the house of Thomas, Lord Dacre, in St. Clement's Parish, London. He was buried in the Savoy Chapel, Strand, where is still seen the memorial inscription on a brass tablet marking his grave, as also that of Bishop Halsey, beside whom he was laid.

There is an interesting tribute in verse in Gawain's praise by Dyer (*Poems*, 1801, p. 89), but everything else is pale in presence of the sixth canto of "Marmion," where Scott portrays, alongside of old Angus at Tantallan, his brilliant son, who is described as—

> "More pleased that in a barbarous age
> He gave rude Scotland Virgil's page,
> Than that beneath his rule he held
> The Bishopric of fair Dunkeld".*

* On the ecclesiastical character of Gawain, see the cautious estimate by Dr. Grub (*Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, i., pp. 401-2):—"A facsimile of the famous autograph letter of Gawain (he signs himself Gawyn) to Cardinal Wolsey, dated from Waltham's Cross, Christmas Eve, in 1521, is found in National MSS. of Scotland (Part iii., No. xv.), as also a facsimile of a page of his *Virgil*, written by his Amanuensis (No. xiv. of same vol.).—The playful spirit of the poet has found expression in travestying his own name. At the end of the

A poet he is of no mean order, and author of one of the great monuments of Scottish literature, the translation of Virgil's *Æneid*, which forms his greatest literary achievement. One of his lesser poems is the "Palace of Honour," remarkable as containing an allegory in which human life is represented as a journey. The *Pilgrim's Progress* of Bunyan is said by Chambers to have been anticipated in its conception by this poem of Gawain Douglas.

A notable feature in his greatest work, the translation of the *Æneid*, is the prefixing of original prologues, full of discursive matter of his own, by way of introduction to each book. It was these prologues of Gawain that suggested to Scott the much admired Introductions to the Cantos of "Marmion," which are, in method, a direct imitation of Gawain's poetic procedure. (Seal of Gawain Douglas in Laing, ii. 172.)

V. Gavini Aberdonensis. [No. 37.

GAVIN DUNBAR (Bishop 1518-32).

It is noteworthy that this is the only *Christian* name or *prænomen* allowed to appear, or at all events appearing, among the escrols of the various shields. All the other designations are official; none except this one is *personal*, and the circumstance is easily explained by the fact that we have here presented to us the name of the then living occupant of the See, who was also the Erector of the Ceiling. As the details regarding this Bishop might swell out beyond all due proportion compared with others of the series, it is thought proper to introduce a separate notice in one of the Appendices. (Seal of Gavin Dunbar in vol. ii. of the *Registrum;* also referred to in Laing, ii., pp. 154 and 174.)

The See of Aberdeen holds here its normal and fixed position

Twelfth Book of the *Æneid* (Small's Edition, vol. iv., p. 167), we come upon these lines, giving a curious *rebus* on his own name:—

To knaw the naym of the Translatour.

"The *Gaw* onbrokyn mydlyt with the *wyne*,
The *Dow* jonyt with the *Glas* richt in a lyne;
Quha knawis nocht the Translatouris name,
Seyk na forthar: for lo with lytill pane
Spy weill this vers: men clepis him swa at haym.
—Quod the Compilar G. Dowglace."

among the Scottish Sees. In the rolls of Parliament, the regular order of enumeration is—(1) St. Andrews, (2) Glasgow, (3) Dunkeld, (4) Aberdeen. The chief exception occurs in the Papal Bull, referred to afterwards, of Innocent III., p. 67.

No. 38.] VI. Moravien. Episcopi.

JAMES HEPBURN (Bishop 1514*-24).

"Son of a rebellious race" (Dr. Joseph Robertson in *Stat. Eccl. Scot.*, p. cxxix.). Son of Adam, second Lord Hailes, and brother to Patrick, the first Earl of Bothwell (Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*). (Seal of James Hepburn in Laing, i. 157.)

No. 39.] VII. Rossen. Epi.

ROBERT COCKBURN (Bishop 1507-21).

On death of Gawain Douglas in 1522, Cockburn was translated to Dunkeld, which See he held till 1526. (Seal of R. Cockburn in Laing, ii. 172, 183.)

No. 40.] VIII. Brechinen. Episcopi.

JOHN HEPBURN (Bishop 1517-58).

Of the family of Bothwell. Bishop John Leslie *(de rebus gestis Scotorum)* has an estimate at some length of the character of this prelate. He is second son to Patrick (third Lord Hailes and first Earl of Bothwell). (Seal of John Hepburn in Laing, i. 159.)

A church existed at Brechin as early as 1010, at which time, according to Joseph Robertson, the famous bell-tower of Brechin was built by Irish Churchmen (*Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxv., p. 114. See also Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii., p. 332).

No. 41.] IX. Cathanen. Episcopi.

ANDREW STEWART (Bishop 1518-42).

Son to John, first Earl of Athol.

* Made bishop in 1516, according to Douglas in his *Peerage of Scotland*.

X. Candidæ Casæ Episcopi. [No. 42.

DAVID ARNOT* (Bishop 1509-26).

The Bishopric of Whithorn, or Galloway,† had a long history, and was in early time subject to the See of York. The Lords of Galloway in the Celtic time were almost independent sovereigns, and the district had laws peculiar to itself (Cosmo Innes, *Sketches*, pp. 96-7; also p. 207. For early history of this See, consult E. W. Robertson, *Scotland, &c.*, i., pp. 357-8). Thomas Innes (*Ecclesiastical History*, p. 155) considers that the fixity of this See, and of that of Glasgow, compared with the migratory character of the other older Sees, was due to their being within the Imperial province of Valentia, and so partaking of the fixity of the ecclesiastical system of the Empire. This See being, in early times, taken as suffragan of York, Bede gives it as one of the Bishoprics of the Northumbrian province (Bede, v. 24), and hence it is not included in the enumeration of the Nine Scottish Sees in the Bull of Pope Innocent III. (1198-1214), or in that of Pope Honorius, 1218.

XI. Dunblanen. Episcopi. [No. 43.

JAMES CHISHOLM (Bishop 1486-1526).

Eldest son of Edmond Chisholm of Cromlix, near Dunblane, who was a son of Chisholm of that Ilk in Roxburghshire. Resigned in 1526 in favour of his brother, William Chisholm, and lived till 1534. (Seal

* Son to John Arnot of that Ilk, by Katharine Melvil his wife, daughter to Melvil of Carnbie (Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*).

† Apart from the questionable traditions (Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i., p. 299) as to the priority of St. Andrews through the story of St. Regulus,—the nucleus of which belongs to the 9th century (Jos. Robertson); an attempt, no doubt, to antedate the claims of St. Andrews so as to compare with the more real and rival antiquity of Hy or Iona,—the See of Whithorn can claim on good grounds an antiquity higher than any other of the Scottish Sees. Its founder, St. Ninian, the British Bishop, is generally placed as far back as from 400 to 450, and Whithorn is, therefore, styled by Joseph Robertson "the oldest bishopric north of the Humber". St. Ninian had studied at Rome, and on that headland of Galloway where he chose the chief seat of his mission, "he built a church of stone, in a way unusual among the Britons". It was dedicated by him to St. Martin of Tours, from whom he obtained masons to shape its walls after the Roman fashion" (*Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxv., pp. 108-9). Such was the origin of the "Candida Casa," or "White-walled House," lighting up the shores of Galloway.

in Laing, ii. 180.) The See of Dunblane was closely connected with the old Celtic earldom of Strathern, the only family among Scottish *subjects* that could claim to have founded a bishopric. In the early Stewart time (1371) Strathern was constituted the sole county Palatine of the Scottish kingdom. Ultimately, however, the title of Earl, now Duke, of Strathern has been included among those appropriated to the Royal Family.

No. 44.] XII. Lismoren. Episcopi.

DAVID HAMILTON (Bishop 1504-22).

The Bishopric of Argyle or Lismore * was disjoined from the great diocese of Dunkeld about the year 1200, under circumstances related in Dr. Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, i., pp. 301-2. The contemporary Bishop was of the Arran family, a brother of James, Earl of Arran, and was Commendator of Dryburgh and Glenluce.

No. 45.] XIII. Orchaden. Episcopi.

EDWARD STEWART (Bishop of Orkney, 1513-).

This Bishop is praised by Hector Boece. He is said to have consecrated the Chapel of King's College (*Collections on Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, p. 210). The diocese of Orkney was then only recently annexed, or rather added, to the Scottish Church. In 1468, the Orkneys had been mortgaged by the Danish Crown for payment of the dowry of the Danish bride of James III. Up to that period the Bishop of Orkney was the suffragan of the Norwegian Archbishop of Drontheim, but, in 1472, on the erection of St. Andrews into an Archiepiscopal See, the Orkneys became a diocese of the Scottish Church. This annexation is the more remarkable, as it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that these islands were brought under the *civil* jurisdiction of the Scottish Law (*Stat. Eccl. Scot.*, ii., p. 293). Compare the pleasing sketch of the See of Orkney and its saint (St. Magnus), in *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxv., pp. 122-4).

* According to E. W. Robertson (*Scotland, &c.*, ii., p. 12), "the earliest mention of the diocese of Lismore or Argyle occurs in a charter from Alexander II. to Harald, the first Bishop, dated in 1228 (*Reg. Morav.*, No. 32)".

XIV. Sodoren. Episcopi.* [No. 46.

Bishop of the Isles.†

Interregnum in the See. It is uncertain who was Bishop between George Hepburn, killed at Flodden in 1513, and John *Electus* in 1526.

The Bishopric of the Isles embraced the Hebrides, which were ceded by Norway to Scotland in 1266, after the victory of Largs. In the cession, however, there was originally a reservation of the archiepiscopal rights of Drontheim (*Stat. Eccl. Scot.*, ii., p. 293).

XV. Prioris Sancti Andr. [No. 47.

JOHN HEPBURN (Prior of St. Andrews).

Founder of St. Leonard's College in St. Andrews in 1512, and brother of the Bishop of Moray. See No. VI. of this series. Seal, as Prior, in Laing, i., p. 200.

Brother also of Patrick Hepburn, first Earl of Bothwell, whose son, Patrick, was educated by his uncle, John, Prior of St. Andrews, and succeeded him in the position of Prior, eventually becoming, in 1534, Bishop of Moray. John, the Prior, gets the ear of John, Duke of Albany, and is "a great and shrewd intriguer" (W. Drummond, p. 81). "This man being of a subtle wit, malicious, crafty, rich, and endued with some courtly eloquence . . . turned his only Privado" (W. Drummond, pp. 82-3).

Owing to the supremacy of the Archiepiscopal See with which the Priory was associated, the Prior of St. Andrews ‡ ranked next to the

* On the vicissitudes of this bishopric, and its relation to the Abbacy of Iona, with which it is found finally conjoined in 1506, see the historical *résumé* by Dr. Skene, in papers of *Scottish Society of Antiquaries*, vol. x., pp. 207-9; also C. Innes, *Sketches, &c.*, p. 207.

† That is, the "Sudereys," or Southern Isles, whence comes the title of the English Insular See, "*Sodor* and Man". The "Sudereys" were so called by the Norsemen, in contradistinction to the *Northern* Isles of Orkney and Shetland, which were also subject to their sway. This is the view of W. F. Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, iii., p. 29), who is at issue with E. W. Robertson (*Scotland*, i., pp. 167, 350) in his explanation of "Sudereys," as merely the "Southern *Hebrides*," and also with J. H. Burton (ii., p. 103), in taking as the line of demarcation, betwixt Nordereys and Sudereys, the point of Ardnamurchan.

‡ See the singular chapter in Fordun's *Scotichronicon* (vi. 49), on the dignity of the Prior of St. Andrews.

Bishops, and, what is more notable, took precedence not only of all the Priors, but even of the Abbots, including the Abbots of proud Kelso and Arbroath.

For some further account of Prior John Hepburn, see p. 57.

No. 48.] XVI. Alme Mnj's Universitatis.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN

Ranks third among the Scottish Universities, as dating from 1494, when it was constituted by Papal Bull of Privileges, with all the amplitude belonging to the mother Universities of Paris and Bologna. For its history, see *Fasti Aberdonenses* (Sp. Cl.).

The arms,* as represented on this shield, seem suggested by those of the University of Paris.

*** ON THE ROLL OF SCOTTISH BISHOPRICS AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Three distinct stages are historically discernible in the development and expansion of the Scottish Hierarchy. These stages are coincident with corresponding stages in the national expansion. The first is the early Celtic period anterior to David I. (1124, Four Bishoprics). The second is the period from accession of David I. to that of Alexander III. (Nine Bishoprics). The third is the period from Alexander III. to the Reformation (Twelve, and finally Thirteen, Bishoprics).

The expansion in the second period was gained mainly on the Southern frontier, in the region of Lothian and Strathclyde. The expansion in the third period was gained chiefly on the North and West, at the expense of Norway and Denmark: first, by the victory of Largs in 1263, and the consequent accession of the Isles; second, by the cession of Orkney and Shetland in 1468. This last expansion completed the Scottish Hierarchy up to the number of thirteen, at

* The arms of the University of Paris were the arms of France, viz., the *fleurs-de-lis*, but differenced by a hand issuing from clouds and holding a volume among the lilies. Hence Bulæus (*Hist. Univ. Paris.*, i., p. 261): "Quod ad Lilia spectat, quæ trina sunt in Sigillo Rectoris in triquetram, sicut et Regia, in plano scuto disposita, clarum est ab ipso Fundatore fuisse communicata. Et certe quis dubitabit, quin manus illa librum tenens, e cœlo delapsa, qua sigillum in suprema parte adaugetur et oneratur, indicet Carolum Magnum . . . . suam instituisse Academiam?" In further describing these arms he speaks of them as being "*in campo azureo*".

which it stands at the period of Gavin Dunbar and down to the Reformation.

A few details on these stages of development may here be subjoined. Besides the variations in the *number*, there emerge important divergences, easily explicable for the most part, in the *order* in which the Sees are from time to time enumerated.

1. Period before David I. (Accession in 1124).

Wyntoun (bk. vii., 6, 33) has the following regarding King David:

> "Byschaprykis he fand bot foure or thre,
> Bot, or he deyd, nyne left he".

These "foure or thre" early bishoprics his commentator (D. Macpherson) defines as follows:

"Viz., St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Moray, and most probably Catness, existing before the time of David; which with Glasgow (founded by him when Earl of Cumberland), Aberdeen, Brechin, Dunblane, and Ross, made up the number of *nine* bishopricks at his death. Galloway seems not to have been reckoned; either because it was then a suffragan of the ecclesiastical province of York, or as having no bishop from the time of the Northumbrian government in that country till the settlement of Fergus, a lord of it, in the 12th century. And, accordingly, we find that Galloway (or *Candida Casa*) was not reckoned among the Bishops' Sees of Scotland in the enumeration of them by Pope Honorius in 1218, wherein the above nine are named." Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, ii., p. 377) considers Glasgow, not Caithness, to have formed one of the four bishoprics existing at David's accession.

The single reign of David, the son of St. Margaret, exhibits, therefore, at one projection, an expansion of the Scottish Hierarchy greater than all the other reigns of subsequent kings, singly or collectively, can show.

2. Period after David I. to Alexander III. (1153-1249).

1155.	1198-1216.	1218.
1. Glasgow.	1. St. Andrews.	1. St. Andrews.
2. Whithorn.	2. Glasgow.	2. Dunblane.
3. St. Andrews.	3. Dunkeld.	3. Glasgow.
4. Dunblane.	4. Dunblane.	4. Dunkeld.

5. Dunkeld.	5. Brechin.	5. Brechin.
6. Brechin.	6. Aberdeen.	6. Aberdeen.
7. Aberdeen [*Galfrido Apperdunensi*].	7. Moray.	7. Moray.
8. Moray.	8. Ross.	8. Ross.
9. Ross.	9. Caithness. †	9. Caithness. ‡
10. Caithness.*		

These three lists, out of what may be called the second period, resemble each other in two great features. 1. Apart from the variation caused by the presence of Whithorn or *Candida Casa* in the first list, they all present the same group for the first four Southern Sees, though in a different order. 2. They are identical as regards the order in which the remaining five Northern Sees are enumerated. The order of these last is simply geographical. In the first group, however—that, namely, of the Southern Sees—the variation of order seems to have turned more on claims to ecclesiastical primacy than on geographical considerations.

3. Period after Alexander III. (Accession 1249), to Reformation.

Now that Galloway, in the previous reign, has been absorbed into the kingdom, the chief expansion of Scotland takes place on its Western side by the victory of Largs, and the number of bishoprics of the realm rises successively to twelve, and finally to thirteen. They are found enumerated in their normal order in the *Acts of Parliament of Scotland* (vol. i., p. 85).

The manifesto of the clergy in favour of Bruce in 1309, to which reference was made on p. 49 preceding, gives no order of classification. It runs in the name of the Bishops *collectively*, probably for prudential reasons.

But in 1371, on the accession of Robert II., the order of the Bishops in affixing their seals to the "Declaration" of that date,

* *Bull of Pope Adrian IV.* (*Breakspear* the Englishman), 1155 (enjoining "submission to Roger of York, your Metropolitan," a command obeyed only by the Bishop of Whithorn).

† *Bull of Pope Innocent III.*, 1198-1216.

‡ *Great Bull of Pope Honorius III.*, 1216-27 (No. xlvii. of *National MSS. of Scotland*, Part i.).

fixing the succession to the Crown, runs thus: (1) St. Andrews, (2) Glasgow, (3) Dunkeld, (4) Aberdeen, (5) Moray, (6) Ross, (7) Dunblane, (8) Caithness, (9) Argyle, (10) Galloway or Whithorn. (See *National MSS. of Scotland,* Part ii., No. xliii. A.)

The order and grouping of the Bishoprics continued with little variation in this shape during the third period till the Reformation. It will be noted that, while Aberdeen had in the second period only a *geographical* rank, in the third period the importance of the See has obtained for it a rank inferior only to the three more or less Primatial Bishoprics, so that, as in the heraldic ceiling, its normal order is that of fourth among the Scottish Sees.* See Bishop Leslie on the Scottish Hierarchy (*Sc. Texts*, i., p. 108).

A very lucid account is given by Thomas Innes (*History of Scotland,* Sp. Cl.) of the order of establishment and general grouping of the Scottish Sees. Their development may be said to mark the stages of the national expansion, and the student of Scottish history will note their successive sequence, star after star, as it were, coming out in the Northern sky, in a certain mutual relation and dependence.

Lastly, as the ecclesiastical series terminates in the University, it may be proper to remark that the *order* of development under which the Scottish Universities, so far as founded by Bishops, severally sprang up, proceeded in the same sequence as the order in dignity of the four great Sees, the only exception being that Dunkeld, not having had an Elphinston or a Wardlaw among its prelates, drops out of this Academic array. The relation of the Church to the three older Universities, of which she was the Foundress, is therefore seen in the following juxtaposition.

Sees in final order of Precedence (order same as in heraldic ceiling).	*Pre-Reformation Universities* (in order of foundation).	
1. See of St. Andrews.	1. University of St. Andrews, founded	1411.
2. See of Glasgow.	2. University of Glasgow, ,,	1453.
3. See of Dunkeld.		
4. See of Aberdeen.	3. University of Aberdeen, ,,	1494.

* A deviation from the usual order occurs in the Parliament of 1289 (Margaret, Maid of Norway), where "Evesque Moray" stands before "Aberdeen" (p. 441 of *Acts of Scottish Parliament*, vol. i.).

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

> Invida fatorum Series, summisque negatum Stare diu.—
> Perish the Roses and the Flowers of Kings.

If we turn our attention to the general aspects of the political and ecclesiastical horizon, as it shaped itself nearly four centuries ago to the eye and mind of the pre-Reformation age, we find hardly less interest and instruction in the phenomena that are absent and as yet unapparent, than in those that are present and visibly recognised. Hence it is of importance not only to advert to the particulars selected for delineation, but also to reckon up what the tableau conceals, or at least does not reveal, of the vision underneath the then horizon. In the general survey of these historical features, which we now propose, it will therefore be necessary to note, as they emerge, the more notable negative as well as the positive and outstanding phenomena.

The first head of remark, to which we draw attention, is the—

I. Prominence of the Empire.

In the Heraldic array that is now before us, we have—under the precedency of the Emperor as a kind of Lord-Paramount in civil jurisdiction, co-ordinate with the Pope in his spiritual jurisdiction—an image of the World, as then conceived by Western Christendom.

The political system of Europe is, therefore, still regarded, according to this representation, as cast in the mould of the Roman Empire, which continues to be conceived as a unity under one Imperial head. Hence the style of the Imperial chief is known to have been thus framed: "Carolus V., divina favente clementia,

Romanorum, Imperator Augustus ac rex Germaniæ, Hispaniarum, &c.". To us in these days it is difficult to imagine the time when all the Powers were assumed as standing in a certain relation of subordination to a superior Power, one, at all events, nominally superior. In regard to the succession to the "Imperium Romanum," there are in our time virtually four claimants in the field: the House of Hapsburg, as the successors of the Medieval Kaisers, or, as they were loosely styled, the "Emperors of Almaigne";* the House of Hohenzollern, as the *de facto* rulers of Germany; the Czar or House of Romanoff, as claiming to be heirs of the Eastern Emperors; and the dormant claim of France under the Bonapartes to represent the Western Empire of Charlemagne. But, in the tableau of this heraldic ceiling, the House of Hapsburg of that day is alone regarded as possessed of the "Imperium".

One of the most valuable and fruitful results of recent historical investigation has been to familiarise the student of medieval history with the importance of the "Imperium,"† considered as a political conception long surviving the power that gave it birth, and as an idea dominating the movements of the middle ages, and giving a central unity to their various oscillations. In Dante, as is well known, the vision of the Empire with its "Pax Romana," giving repose to the troubled nations, assumes a sanctity and a majesty in his aspirations that almost blends it with the vision of a Kingdom of God in this lower world.

Of the prominence of this idea, we find evidence here presented, not without significance, in the position of the Imperial Eagle, as heading in this array the series of sovereigns. The Eagle is, however, at this period only nominally Roman: it belongs, at the epoch represented, to the ruler of the Teutonic race; and it is one of the paradoxes of history which needs some research to understand, how it came that, by the time we reach the eve of the Reformation, the "Imperium" is virtually acknowledged and exercised only by the race that originally, in the early centuries, repelled its yoke, and how that very Germanic race, having served itself heir to the Imperial sceptre which, under Arminius, it disowned, and afterwards gradually shattered, snatched up the broken fragments and strove to knit them

* From the play of "Edward III.," Act 1, Scene 1 (attributed to Shakspere).

† Very important in this regard, is Professor Bryce's work, *The Holy Roman Empire*. Also J. H. Burton (*History of Scotland*, i., pp. 390-1).

together into a convenient weapon for a "Princeps" of their own race to wield.

No more notable spectacle is furnished by all the ages than this, of which we have here a visible presentment, and which we may call briefly the Teutonising of the Roman "Imperium". Here, in the headship of a German as sole Emperor in Europe, we come to discern that the nation which Tacitus in the first century descried dimly as, by their rude virtues, the future hope of the world—that nation which the older Empire tried in vain to absorb—has taken up the sceptre now fallen from the grasp of the effete Roman, and in the sixteenth century is found dominating over its old oppressors—Arminius, as it were, by strange metamorphosis, masquerading as Augustus—and ruling the Italian peoples with their own weapons and their own formulæ, which had been invented to subjugate all others than themselves. A consciousness of this revolution expressed itself in the proud words of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa: "The ornaments and virtues of empire have migrated beyond the Alps to a more deserving people" (Gibbon, vol. viii., p. 207).

2. Political Features.

Among the features worthy of attention under this head is the unity which is recognised as belonging both to France and to England—each being taken as a political integer—compared with the fragmentary condition in which, for example, Spain appears. There is, therefore, no recognition of the once formidable Burgundy alongside of France, much less of Brittany; the work of Louis XI. has left no room for such satellites of the French monarchy; and similarly, to our surprise, neither Wales nor Ireland gets any acknowledgment of nationality apart from England. It is otherwise with Spain, where it is manifest that the work of unification was not regarded as yet complete, and hence we have the Iberian peninsula apportioned between virtually five sovereignties: Leon and Castile (with arms quartered, indicating a union of juxtaposition and not amalgamation), Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal, the three last having each separate and independent armorial insignia.

It is further worthy of note that none but Christian Powers of the West are admitted into the array. Accordingly the Grand Turk, or,

as he is styled in the far East, the "Sultan of Roum," finds no place, though Montaigne, in that same century—the sixteenth—pronounced "his empire the most potent then on earth"; but the Christianised kingdom of the race which is kindred to the Turk (the Magyars of Hungary) receives due recognition.

Perhaps, to us nowadays, the most notable apparent *lacuna* is the absence of any acknowledgment of the power that has arisen to be the great Colossus of the East, the then Grand Duke of Muscovy. It was, however, only in 1547—a date later than that of our monumental record—that he assumed the title of Czar, and in that capacity he claims, in our day, to represent the submerged Eastern Empire. This absence is all the more remarkable that already in the previous reign, that of James IV., the country of Muscovy and its prince are well known commercially to the Scottish people (Pinkerton, *History of Scotland*, ii., pp. 59-61). The Slavonic communities, of which the Czar is now the most potent prince, are here represented only by the kingdoms of Bohemia and Poland, and these are no doubt admitted into the array solely as belonging to those *Western* communities that owned allegiance to the See of Rome. The probable reason for the omission of Muscovy is because there was no desire, rather a disinclination, to acknowledge more than one Empire with one Kaiser on the globe, and the fact of only one Emperor, therefore, being acknowledged by medieval Europe, is a circumstance which goes far to explain this notable exclusion of the Muscovite, as well as the ignoring of the Eastern Church, of which the Czar stands forth in our time the champion.

That Scotland,* while claiming to be imperial in its own domain, with its King on the same plane with the Emperor, within the realm of Scotland, should likewise acknowledge as sole Kaiser the *Imperator* who was successor to Charlemagne, was entirely just and proper. It was, moreover, in entire accordance with the then current belief in the old alliance, on which the Scottish fabling chroniclers, in the two centuries preceding Gavin Dunbar, built so much, between Achaius of Scotland,

* "Whatever may be debated against other kingdoms, which were once subject to the Empire . . . Scotland and its kings were never subject to the Roman Empire, nor conquered by them: for they, *to defend themselves against the Scots*, were forced to build a wall called *Vallum Adriani*," &c. (Sir Geo. Mackenzie, *On Precedency*, ch. i.).

or Eocha, grandfather of Kenneth MacAlpine, and the Carolus Magnus of the Empire.*

It is further owing to the "Majestas" still clinging, even in that later age, to the "Empire," that there is no *separate* acknowledgment of the Italian dominions, and hardly any of the various German principalities.† The spear of Brandenburg, as well as the name of Prussia, is as yet underneath the horizon. So in the case of Saxony, then foremost among the German states, there is no special recognition of what was simply a constituent of the Empire. Most notable of all, the great commonwealth of Venice,‡ then reputed the astutest marvel of statesmanship, is passed over without any acknowledgment of the winged lion of St. Mark, and so also the outlying and then but loosely attached territories of the Empire in the Netherlands, in Switzerland, and in Burgundy, receive no special recognition. These last named states are all comprehended under the Empire as among its constituents, and are hence regarded as parts of the "Reich" or "Roman Empire," still supposed to be overshadowing the world. The formal acknowledgment of Switzerland and Holland as independent of the Empire (which took place under Treaty of Westphalia, 1648) was yet far distant. Nor is this statement affected by the presence, in this array, as if they were independent factors, of such kingdoms as Sicily and Cyprus; inasmuch as Cyprus was a crusading conquest, and the kingdom of Sicily was held by peculiar tenure direct from the Papal See. The Norman dynasty that first created the kingdom of the Two Sicilies claimed to hold it without any allegiance to the Emperor of the West.

* J. H. Burton (i., p. 326) identifies Achaius with Eocha.—For a poetic allusion to the story of Charlemagne's alliance with Achaius see "Marmion". It is sentimental, and not historic, to believe that the *tressure flory* was added to the Arms of Scotland *by* Charlemagne. The notion was doubtless to indicate, by this garniture of the encircling *fleurs-de-lis*, that the Lilies of France would always protect the Lion of Scotland. This they certainly did, during the long war against Edward III., when the impetuous valour of England was averted from Scotland, and the storm fell upon the fields of France at Cressy and Poitiers.

† The King of Bohemia, a country which was reckoned an integral part of the Empire, is acknowledged probably as the chief of the secular Electors, and the dukedom of Guelderland owes its insertion, in all likelihood, to the memory of Mary of Gueldres, Queen of James II.

‡ Venice is sometimes regarded as belonging to the Greek or Eastern Empire (Gibbon, vii., p. 291).

3. Attitude to England and to France.

The feeling toward England is one of cold respect, toward France of warm goodwill. Hence the *fleurs-de-lis* occupy the first place immediately after the Imperial eagle, and England, instead of standing, in the order we might expect, next to France, is placed behind Spain, or rather, as formerly remarked, not Spain, but a section of Spain (Leon and Castile).* England, no doubt, as already observed, is accounted an *integral* dominion: neither Wales nor Ireland is acknowledged as a separate European nationality. There are, however, three marked circumstances deserving of notice attaching to the treatment of England:

(1) The pretension of the Tudors, inherited from the later Plantagenets, to quarter the arms of France, is ignored.

(2) The "Lions" of England are made to rank after the insignia of a *portion* of the Spanish monarchy.

(3) The then living English princess, although Queen-Dowager of Scotland (Margaret Tudor), is not acknowledged in the array. (See p. 34.)

4. Notanda in Roll of Scottish Nobility.

The only *native* dukedom in the then Scottish peerage, at the period of Gavin Dunbar, was that of Albany, of the blood royal. Archibald, Earl of Douglas in time of James II., was Duke of Touraine only in the *French* peerage, although he happens to be so styled by courtesy presumably, in the roll of the Scottish Parliament, 1438. Originally the title of duke was given only within the Royal Family, of which there was an instance in England as early as 1337. (As to the dukedom of Montrose, see p. 45.)

There is as yet no marquisate,† although the Earl of March, or, by his Latin designation, the Earl of the *Marches*, is highest in rank

* If the Spanish monarchy, as we now know it, had preceded England, the wonder had been less; but the Spain of the heraldic ceiling is simply Leon and Castile, *minus* Aragon and Navarre, both of which receive separate recognition. On the disputed question at Papal conclaves, whether England could claim co-ordination as to votes with the four principal nations, one of which was Spain, see Gibbon's important note, No. 75, ch. lxx. (vol. viii., p. 276).—In Diplomacy, France and Spain take rank before England.

† "The title and office of marquis (*i.e.*, commander of the march or frontier) was introduced into Italy by the French [*i.e.*, Frankish] emperors" (Gibbon, ch. lvi., n. 13). The

among the earls, and may be said to stand close up to the place where the "marquis," as a title, ought to appear—*i.e.*, after the dukedom, and at the head of the earldoms.

One of the most notable features of this array is that there is no temporal peer acknowledged in a rank *under* that of earl. Neither viscounts* nor barons find a place, and hence the somewhat notable absence of the great Aberdeenshire family of Forbes,† notwithstanding that the title of the premier baron, Lord Forbes, dating from 1442, extends back beyond the period when the heraldic ceiling was constructed.

The earldoms that have arisen of later time belonging to this locality, in the great houses of Grant and Ogilvie, as well as in the Kintore branch of the Keiths, and the Haddo branch of the Gordon family, are all, though to us comparatively ancient, necessarily underneath the horizon of Gavin Dunbar.

But although we thus find ourselves at a period remote from these creations of the later time, the roll of the Scottish nobles is here far more full than it had been in the early time, when there were seven provinces of Pictland (Skene, *Chronicle of Picts and Scots*, p. lxxxiv. of Preface), and consequently only seven mormaors, or earls of the ancient Celtic type. The coronation of Alexander II., in 1214, is said to be the latest occasion on which the earls of Scotland are specified as seven in number.‡ Yet of the twelve earls whose

marquisate of Montferrat is as old as the early Crusades (A.D. 1200), and the marquisate of Spoleto is as early as 930. In England, the marquisate is first found in 1386, reign of Richard II., in the person of Robert de Vere, Marquis of Dublin. Still it is rare, in the English peerage, till the time of Edward VI., after which it becomes common. In Scotland, Huntly and Hamilton were created marquises only in 1599. The German title corresponding (margrave, *i.e.*, mark-graf) has obtained, in our day, the loftiest elevation. It is the Markgraf —or, as we should call him, Marquis—of Brandenburg that has grown into the Kaiser of Deutschland. The territorial chiefs, to whom it fell from local conditions to be the defenders of the borders of the Teutonic empire, naturally became powerful, just as, under the old Roman Empire, we find it was always the commanders of the legionaries of the Rhine and Danube who became, by stress of circumstances and through their more favourable opportunities or environment, more potential than any prefects of the interior provinces.

* Vice-comes in early deeds is only a title for sheriff, not what we now call viscount.

† Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.*, x. 87) names a "Forbesse" among Scottish chiefs.

‡ See E. W. Robertson, *Scotland*, i., p. 32, on the seven provinces; also J. H. Burton, ii., p. 121. (Lord Crawford—in his *Earldom of Mar*—considers *thirteen* as the number of the Scottish earldoms at the close of the 13th century, and states that there is evidence as to all of

shields are here emblazoned, there is none (except, perhaps, the last—Bothwell) that is not locally appropriate, as being more or less closely connected territorially with the province of which Aberdeen is the capital. Hence there is no reference to such *distant* or territorially remote earldoms as the following, belonging to the then peerage:

	Created circa		*Created circa*
Menteith -	(immemorial).	Glencairn, - - -	1488.
Caithness, - - -	1455.	Arran, - - - -	1503.
Rothes, - - - -	1457.	Montrose (Graham),	1503.
Morton, - - - -	1458.	Eglinton, - - -	1508.
Buchan, - - - -	1469.	Cassillis, - - -	1509.
Lennox, - - - -	1474.		

The earldom of Buchan is strangely absent, but the Stewart family, then enjoying it, were not *territorially* connected with Aberdeenshire. The absence of Stewart, Earl of Athole, in contiguous territory, created earl as early as 1457, is difficult to explain alongside of the presence of the Earl of Bothwell,* created as late as 1488, and territorially remote.

The only other remark which we deem it necessary to make regarding the roll of Scottish magnates, is that the order of the first six earldoms, from March to Sutherland, dating chiefly, it may be said, prior to the accession of the Stewart dynasty, seems not to be regulated by any chronological principle; but, after Sutherland, the six subsequent earldoms (beginning with Crawford, as far as and including Bothwell) follow, with one slight deflection,† the exact order of their creation

these being transmissible through female succession.) The old earldoms were all territorial and had reference to *counties*, and their functions were judicial before they became feudal. Earldoms taking title from villages or from towns or from families (Earl Canning, Earl Russell) are modern innovations. (Some good remarks in Hewlett's *Scottish Peerage*, p. 17, London, 1882, on the seven original earldoms.)

* The Earl of Bothwell may owe his place to the marked ecclesiastical pre-eminence which his family had obtained, as is manifest in the triple entry of Hepburns in the hierarchical series (quadruple, if Geo. Hepburn, Bishop of the Sudereys, had survived till 1520). The only other family name that has more than one entry in the ecclesiastical series, is the royal name of *Stewart*, of which there are two representatives.

† Argyle, created earl in 1457, is placed before Errol, created earl in 1452. The exact reason seems difficult to discover. Perhaps it was to associate the two great military officers of State; for the *Constable* is thus placed beside the *Marischal*.

according as it took place under the Stewart dynasty. [Sir Bernard Burke (*Peerage and Baronetage*) states that, in Scotland, precedency in right of *priority* of creation was not thought of till the 16th century, and was then an idea introduced from England. The rank in the old time followed the actual personal or family ascendency. As late as 1592 and 1604, the Earl of Angus protested for precedency to his title, as ranking before not only earls, but dukes (Burke, *ibidem*).]

Great is the variety of fortune that has befallen these various houses in the after time. Four of these earldoms were raised to dukedoms, of which two may be said to have passed away, and two survive, but not of equal rank. Sutherland and Huntly, curiously linked in that distant age (see pp. 44-5), resemble each other in so far that both became merged in a dukedom, the former in a dukedom comparatively recent, and of the United Kingdom, 1833, the latter in the older Scottish dukedom of Gordon, which is as old as 1684,* but which came to a close in 1836. Argyle is a third earldom which has reached the ducal position in Scotland, but ranks only as baron in the peerage of the United Kingdom. A fourth earldom, that became ducal, is that of Angus, merged in the dukedom of Douglas, a title which supervened in later time among the honours of the house of Angus, but both titles have now vanished in that stem, and the title of Earl of Angus seems now to survive only among the ancient historical distinctions appertaining to the dukedom of Hamilton.

5. Ecclesiastical Features.

Turning to the ecclesiastical features, we find that the Scottish Church has at length attained its full hierarchical complement, and that all the bishoprics included in the series have become part and parcel of the kingdom of Scotland in things sacred and things civil. The nine bishoprics (see p. 67) named in the Bull of Pope Innocent III. (1198-1216), which recognises the independence of the Scottish Church, have now (1520) increased to thirteen. Lismore has been disjoined from Dunkeld, and three others have been added formerly under other jurisdictions—viz., Galloway, Orkney, and the Sudereys. In previous reigns this completeness could not have been actually attained; for in a generation

* The title "Earl of Huntly" now belongs to the Marquisate of Huntly, and is not among the subordinate titles of the existing Dukedom of Gordon, which is a new creation (1876).

not very distant, the See of Galloway was under York, Orkney belonged to the jurisdiction of Drontheim, and that of the Sudereys or Sodor had been, in the Norwegian period, subject to the same Norwegian jurisdiction. The whole area of Scotland is therefore now accounted for, and the country is at length ecclesiastically complete in its hierarchical organisation; and the precedence which had successively belonged to Iona, then to Abernethy, then to Dunkeld, has finally become the recognised possession of St. Andrews. It is worth noting, in passing, that, with the exception of Whithorn in Galloway, which was long a kind of separate dependency under its own tributary lords (E. W. R., i., p. 235), there is no episcopal See planted *south* of the Firths of Forth and Clyde. They are all situated within, or on the border of, the ancient "Alban" (Albyn), and so are situated north of the "Scots-water" or Firth of Forth. The diocese of St. Andrews included the Lothians, having gradually absorbed the northern portion of the Northumbrian kingdom until the diocese stretched ultimately to the Cheviots.* Similarly, the diocese of Glasgow extended to the west border at the Solway, the reason being that this See claimed jurisdiction over the territory of the once independent British kingdom of Strathclyde. This kingdom with its capital, Alcluyd or Dumbarton, maintained a kind of shadowy existence till the time of Malcolm II. (1003-1034), when it was absorbed in Scotland (J. H. Burton, i., p. 310).

There is a considerable amount of evidence to show that in early time "bishopric" was co-extensive with "kingdom," and it was only in the later time, after the diocesan subdivisions were introduced, that bishoprics became reduced in size, and increased in number, so as to be co-extensive with the lesser kingships, or what we know as earldoms.† Although it is difficult to trace out all the coincidences

* A century previous [to the capture of Edinburgh, in the reign of Indulf, 954-962] the jurisdiction of the successor of St. Cuthbert still reached as far as Abercorn upon the Forth, but thenceforth it was bounded by the Pentland hills, until about fifty years later, when the diocese of Durham was contracted within still narrower limits (E. W. Robertson, *Scotland, &c.*, i., p. 76). By the battle of Carham in 1018, Lothian was ceded by Eadulf Cudel to Malcolm II. (Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii., p. 336). Thus the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of St. Andrews extended beyond the "Scots-water" in exact proportion as the temporal authority of the king of Scotland grew and extended (E. W. R., i., p. 334).

† In England, according to Ed. A. Freeman, the early bishoprics emerge, each answering to one of the *kingdoms* of the Heptarchy. Compare J. H. Burton, *History of Scotland*, i.,

proving such a collocation, it is worth noting that two at any rate of the diocesan bishops in this array are placed parallel to and alongside of the temporal earl attached to the same territory,* much as Pope and Emperor were assumed to stand to each other on the European area. These two are the bishopric of Caithness, in the same line as the earldom of Sutherland, and the bishopric of Lismore, which is placed in line with the earldom of Argyle. The order is therefore:

In Ecclesiastical Series.	*In Temporal Series.*
9. Caithness, Bishop of.	9. Sutherland, Earl of.
12. Lismore, Bishop of.	12. Argyle, . . . Earl of.

But although there is here claimed an equality of rank as between bishop and earl in the same territory, both being entitled to be styled "lord,"† it is worthy of remark that, on the evidence of this Ceiling, the son of the Church who had entered the sacred profession might rise to a higher rank than he could have attained had he pursued a secular profession or obtained even the chieftainship of his sept or clan.

That the Church even then offered the fairest field for intellectual ambition and opened the amplest career to resplendent talents is a fact that comes out not unhappily in this heraldic representation. It will be noted, *e.g.*, that while the Earls of Douglas and Angus are credited with a high position in the secular array, their kinsman of the name of Douglas who has chosen the clerical profession is placed higher in rank than either of these chiefs of his own clan.‡ Gawain Douglas, as bishop, stands *fourth* in *his* series, viz., the ecclesiastical, while his chieftain

p. 269. So Father Innes (p. xlii. of *Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, Spalding Club), who says, in his Latin Letter to Wilkins, the Editor of the *Concilia*, that there was a time when there were only two bishops, one for Pictland at Abernethy, the other for the [Dalriadic] Scotland in Iona—"unum saltem *pro unoquoque regno* episcopum proprium . . . Pictorum apud Abernethy . . . Scotorum in insula Iona".

* The remains of St. Margaret were removed to the high altar of Dunfermline in the presence of King Alexander III. and seven *Bishops* and seven *Earls* of Scotland—"Septem *Episcoporum* et septem *Comitum* Scotiæ" (*Registr. Dunferml.*, 235; J. H. Burton, *History of Scotland*, ii., p. 21).

† "My Lord of Aberdeen" is in ancient records simply the "Bishop" of Aberdeen.

‡ So the eminence of Leo X. in this array is due to his *official* and not to his *personal* hereditary dignity. It is not as a scion of the Medici, who are here territorially unacknowledged, that he is here memorised: he takes his place in this array solely as the Patriarch of the West and Head of Western Christendom.

and relative, the Earl of Angus, stands in the secular series only *sixth* in the array. A similar inference may be drawn from the high rank of the three ecclesiastics of the house of Bothwell at that time, coming respectively 6th, 8th, 15th in the roll of churchmen, in contrast with the rank accorded in the temporal series to the earl of that name, who comes last (15th) among the nobles here commemorated. So, in the case of Gavin Dunbar himself, who takes the same armorial bearings as the Earl of Moray, the rank which he occupies in the ecclesiastical array is equal to that of the temporal earl whose arms he bears, both standing fifth in their respective series.

But the most noteworthy feature, ecclesiastically, is the evidence which this heraldic ceiling bears as to the "spiritual-independence principle," whereby, apart from the Court of Rome, Scotland at that time acknowledges no external superior in matters ecclesiastical.

The evidence here furnished for this important phenomenon is complete and indisputable. The mists and uncertainties contracted around the *political* independence of Scotland by the treaty of Falaise, which was extorted from William the Lion, were the cause of the perplexities attaching for a time to its ecclesiastical independence (E. W. Robertson, *Scotland*, i., p. 373). In 1188 those perplexities were removed, and the dispute was virtually set at rest by the declaration of Pope Clement III., that the Church of Scotland was in immediate dependence upon the See of Rome (E. W. R., i. 379). Then came the confirmation by the great Bull of Honorius III. (otherwise remarkable for its splendid caligraphy), referred to above on p. 68. There it is ordained that the Scottish Church "be subject, as a special daughter, to the Apostolic See, without any intermediary" ("Sedi Apostolicæ, sicut *filia specialis*, nullo medio sit subjecta").

In this array, therefore, the two Scottish Archbishops come next to the Pope without any intermediary; and thus the ancient claims, which were advanced both by York and by Canterbury, to rule the Scottish Church, are here boldly and systematically repelled.* This

* "Canterbury claimed jurisdiction over all the British Isles in virtue of the Bull of Gregory the Great to Augustine, and York asserted ecclesiastical supremacy over Scotland on account of the signature of Wilfrith at the Council of Rome and the short episcopate of Trumwin over the Picts" (E. W. Robertson, *Scotland, &c.*, i., p. 178, where the whole question is detailed). Compare also E. A. Freeman, *N. Conquest*, vol. iv., pp. 350-1. The claim of York had a more valid ground in the undoubted jurisdiction which it enjoyed in the

marked assertion of "spiritual independence" takes place also, it may be noted, at a date contemporary with Wolsey the Magnificent, when that august prelate was presiding over the See of York with all its rich historic honours. Those historic honours may be said to be, in England, still unmatched in respect of antiquity and splendour, inasmuch as York was a city enjoying a kind of primacy during the Romano-British period, and inasmuch as it was more than once, in old time, what London never was at any time, nor yet Canterbury, an *Imperial* city, a residence of the Emperor of the West before the Roman Empire fell. This is indeed a circumstance of high significance. To those who can read below the surface, the whole of this blazon forms a striking and visible evidence of the vigour with which the Scottish national spirit, at this as at other periods, asserted itself in disdain of the least semblance of subjection to any external non-Roman jurisdiction, whether ecclesiastical or political.

time of the Northumbrian kingdom as far as the "Scots-water" or Firth of Forth; any further claim was contingent on the *political* independence question which Bannockburn effectually settled.—In historical polemics, a fair argument against the pretension of York might have been obtained from the relation of St. Aidan to its most important suffragan, the See of Durham. It was from Iona that St. Aidan proceeded to Holy Isle or Lindisfarne, becoming thereby the predecessor of St. Cuthbert, and so the spiritual title of the Northern Bishopric of England, in the province of York, may be said to have depended on that of Iona. —As for the claim of Canterbury over Britain generally, that was still more shadowy, as St. Albans and Glastonbury have each, in that event, a rival voice as to priority not to be ignored; and, moreover, we hear of Bishops of London and York as attending a synod of Arles as early as A.D. 314, long before Augustine appears at Canterbury.

END OF PART I. (HISTORICAL SECTION).

PART II.

HERALDIC SECTION.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE subject of this section has been anticipated to some extent by the interesting description and blazon contributed by the late Principal Campbell to *The Herald and Genealogist*, vol. v., p. 9, 26th July, 1867.

The shields, which are of the form that came into use after the period of the heater shape, are not quite uniform in size or in proportion, the average size being about 18 by 14 inches. They take rank from east to west, and as the upper ends are towards the east, the spectator, in order to see them in proper position, is supposed to face towards the west. It then appears that the nobles are on the dexter side and the kings on the sinister, but it is possible that they were so arranged in order that the higher dignities might have place upon the north side.

The charges on the shields are carved in relief.

The Imperial shield is ensigned with a crown of the form peculiar to the Emperor, consisting of a circle of gold adorned with jewels, heightened with alternate trefoils and balls, four of each, and having a high semicircular red cap, closed at the sides, voided at the top, and showing in the opening an arch from front to back under a ball and cross patée. The crown of the King of Scotland is the only royal one that is arched. It has two arches, with a ball and cross patée at the intersection. The circle is jewelled and heightened with four crosses patée and as many fleurs-de-lis alternately. The other royal crowns are of gold, and consist of circles studded with ornaments carved and painted in red and blue, to resemble jewels, and having above the rims strawberry or oak leaves, eight in number, except that of Poland, which has ten, and those of Spain, Denmark, Hungary, and Sicily, each of which has twelve. In those of Cyprus and Navarre these ornaments resemble fleurs-de-lis, and in those of Spain and Denmark some of them resemble trefoils. The crowns of Spain, England, Denmark,

and Sicily have no caps; those of Aragon and Cyprus have blue caps, and the others have red ones. The shields of the Dukes of Bourbon and Gueldres are ensigned with gold jewelled circles, heightened with eight plain points, that of Bourbon having a red cap, and that of Gueldres none.

Above the shields of the nobles, with the exception of those of the Duke of Albany and the Earls of March, Moray, and Douglas, are coronets consisting of white circles with coloured ornaments to represent jewels. That of Albany is of gold and of the same form as those of the Dukes of Bourbon and Gueldres, but with twelve points, and those of March, Moray, and Douglas are gold jewelled circles, nearly resembling the coronets placed by Sir David Lindsay, in his Heraldic MS., over the shields of earls.

The arms of the Pope are ensigned with the tiara, the three encircling crowns of which are formed of numerous crosses patée, fleurs-de-lis, and trefoils; the cap is red, and it is surmounted with a mound and cross patée. Two keys in saltire, the dexter or, the sinister argent, are behind the shield. The arms of the two Archbishops have each behind the shield a crozier in pale or, the cross botonnée appearing above the shield, and those of the Prior of Saint Andrews have, in the like position, a pastoral staff or, of which the crook, turned to the dexter side, is seen above the shield. The shields of the Bishops are ensigned with mitres, which vary a little in height and shape, some having a more antique form than others; the circles and arches are enriched with jewels and crockets; the spaces between the overarching bands are blue, sometimes with red centres or borders, and the pendants or labels are blue (with the exception of one which is red) and fringed at the ends with gold.

The linings of the crowns, coronets, and mitres are shown above the shields, and are coloured either red or blue, so as to contrast, in almost every case, with the prevailing tincture in the shield.

The scrolls containing the titles or designations are so placed as to be read by the spectator when facing towards the east, or when advancing up the nave from the west door.

I

[1]

Imperatoriæ Maiestatis.

II

[2]

Francorum Regis.

ANDW. GIBB & CO. LITHRS
9, QUEEN STREET

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] head display [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

I

Imperatoris Maiestatis.

II

Francorum Regis.

CHAPTER I.

KINGS.

I. THE EMPEROR. [No. 1.

Or an eagle with two heads displayed sable armed gules.

The eagle's heads are, conformably to the earlier practice, neither diadematée, that is, encircled with annulets or nimbi, nor crowned. The annulets were the special distinction of the Imperial eagle, marking a higher dignity than that indicated by crowns. The sword, sceptre, and orb came afterwards to be borne in the eagle's claws. On the breast of the eagle were borne the personal arms of the Emperor, which for a long time were those of Austria.

THE German emperors assumed the eagle as their device in virtue of their claim to be the successors of the Roman emperors, whose ensign it was, both in Pagan and in Christian times. The meaning of the two heads, with which the Imperial eagle has been represented since about the fourteenth century, has been variously interpreted, the most likely explanation being that the double head represented the united empires of the East and of the West.

In the earliest representations the Imperial eagle has only one head. "The eagle of the Emperor, charged in relief upon the early shield in the north choir aisle of Westminster Abbey," "has a single head, and is not crowned" (Boutell, *Heraldry, Historical and Popular*, third edition, 1864, p. 452). Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and Emperor, second son of King John, who died in 1272, bore an eagle with one head (*Ibid.*, p. 234).

In a Roll of Arms supposed to be of, or soon after, the time of Henry III., probably not later than 1280, published with Mr. W. S. Walford's notes in the *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxix., p. 373, the eagle of the Emperor is described as having two heads, and Mr. Walford there mentions the occurrence of the double-headed eagle in a MS. of about 1250. It appears in a heraldic window in York Minster, "the probable date of which is about 1307" (Appendix, p. 158).

Boutell (Plate LXXVI., No. 678) gives a representation of a double-headed eagle taken from a drawing of the period of Edward I., and in the arms of Anne of Austria, wife of Richard II., as they appeared in a window of St. Olave's Church, Old Jewry (*c.* 1377), given by Willement (*Regal Heraldry*, Plate VI. 4), the quartering of the empire shows a double-headed eagle. On the monument of Edmond, Duke of York, at King's Langley, Herts (1402), the eagle has "two heads, but not crowned" (Boutell, p. 390).

Planché (*Pursuivant of Arms*) is of opinion that the dimidiation of two shields with eagles upon them produced the effect of a double-headed eagle, either accidentally or purposely; and it has been otherwise suggested that the double-headed eagle had its origin at the time when two emperors reigned jointly, and their seals and coins bore two eagles, the one surmounting the other, but with their heads turned in opposite directions (Nisbet, *System of Heraldry*, 1804, i. 337).

Sir David Lindsay gives a representation of the arms of the Emperor of Rome, in which the eagle has two heads, not diadematée or crowned (*Facsimile of Heraldic Manuscript*, 1542, Ed. 1878, 12).

No. 2.] II. THE KING OF FRANCE.

Azure, three fleurs-de-lis or.

The fleur-de-lis appears first as a badge or cognizance borne singly, not on a shield, on the seal of Louis VII. (1137-1170) (Planché). In heraldic form it was borne semée on the shield (France ancient) until the reign of Charles VI. (1380), when the number was reduced to three (France modern). Boutell (p. 159) says that the change had been made by the French kings as early as 1364.

The original meaning of the emblem has not been conclusively explained, the vexed question whether it was named from the iris-flower or from a spear-head, to both of which it bears some resemblance, never having been decided. Montagu (*Guide to the Study of Heraldry*, p. 6) says: "The arguments of M. de Menestrier" (*Le Véritable Art du Blason*) "in favour of the iris are so strong as almost to set this question at rest".

The name seems to be a variety or corruption of "fleur-de-Louis".

III

[3]

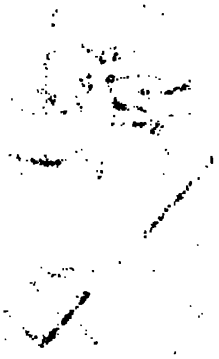
Hispanorum Regis.

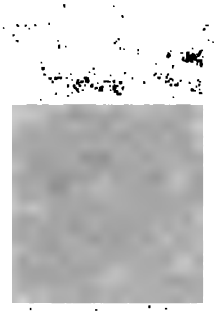
IV

[4]

Regis Anglorum.

FROM GIBB & CO. LITHO'T
2, QUEEN STREET





III. The King of Spain. [No. 3.

Quarterly: first and fourth Argent, a lion rampant gules, Leon; second and third Gules, a castle triple towered or, windows and ports sable, Castile.

The windows and ports ought to be azure. The lion is borne crowned or by modern usage.

At the time of the construction of the ceiling, and for at least two centuries before that date, the order of marshalling was, first and fourth Castile, second and third Leon. They so appear on the tomb of Eleanor of Castile, first Queen of Edward I., in Westminster Abbey, and Willement says: "They are remarkable as the earliest example, in England, of two coats quartered in the same shield" (p. 13).

The kingdoms were united in 1217, in the person of Ferdinand III., who was King of Leon in right of his father, and of Castile in right of his mother. He gave precedence to the maternal kingdom on account of its greater antiquity. "Because it was the ancientest kingdom" (Nisbet, *Essay on Armories*, p. 151).

On the union of Castile and Aragon under Ferdinand and Isabella, the arms of Aragon and Sicily impaled were added to those of Castile and Leon in the royal shield of Spain, and marshalled second and third, with Castile and Leon quarterly first and fourth.

Sir David Lindsay gives as the arms of the King of Spain: Quarterly: first and fourth grand quarters quarterly, first and fourth Castile, second and third Leon; second grand quarter, Aragon impaling Sicily; third, Sicily impaling Aragon. This arrangement of the second and third grand quarters seems to have been made for the sake of symmetry or equipoise (13).

The *femme* side of the achievement of Catherine of Aragon, given by Willement as taken from a contemporary manuscript in the College of Arms, bears the same arms as those given for Spain by Sir David Lindsay (except that the impalement is not reversed in the third quarter, and that the shield is *enté en point* of Granada, viz., Argent, a pomegranate gules slipped and seeded proper) (Pl. XV., fig. 2).

An example of the arms quartered, Leon first and fourth, Castile second and third, occurred in the north-west window of the chapter house of York Minster, designed, it is thought, about the end of the reign of Edward I., and "destroyed during the Civil War of the seventeenth century" (*Herald and Genealogist*, vol. v., p. 387).

In the Roll of the thirteenth century (*supra*. p. 87) the tincture of the lion of Leon is given "purpur".

No. 4.] IV. THE KING OF ENGLAND.

Gules, three lions passant gardant in pale or.

The ensigns armorial attributed to, or invented for, the kings of England from the Conqueror to Henry II., were two leopards or lions in the attitude proper to leopards, namely, passant gardant. To these the last mentioned King, on his marriage with Eleanor, eldest daughter and co-heir of the Duke of Aquitaine and Guienne, is said to have added a third leopard, being the arms of his wife (*c.* 1154).

The earliest known representation of the three lions passant gardant in pale is on the second seal of Richard I. (*c.* 1192); but it is not unimportant in its bearing on the vexed question whether the royal animals were lions or leopards to remark that an earlier seal of the same king exhibits a lion rampant, and as only half of the convex shield is seen, it seems probable that the complete bearing was two lions combatant. From considerations of space the lions seem to have been crowded into the attitude of leopards lionné, *i.e.*, passant (as on the seal of King John), and afterwards into that of leopards simply. The normal position of a lion in early heraldry was rampant, of a leopard passant gardant, and the attitude rather than any other consideration regulated what it was called. Hence, not only in France, but in England, the English royal animals were often called leopards till far on in the fifteenth century.

They continued to be so borne until 1340, when Edward III., having assumed the title of King of France, quartered the ancient arms of that kingdom with those of England, placing France first and fourth. This precedence was given to France, either because it was the more important kingdom, or because the English coat, being derived from the dukedoms, not kingdoms, of Normandy and Aquitaine, took properly the second place. This usage was continued by succeeding English kings until about 1403, when Henry IV. reduced the number of fleurs-de-lis in the French quarterings to three, following the change that had been made some years before in France by Charles V. The reduced number is found first in the great seal of Henry V. (Willement, p. 32). Thereafter the bearings of England remained the same until the union of the crowns in 1603, when the arms of Scotland and those of Ireland were added. The fleurs-de-lis were not finally discarded until the union of Great Britain with Ireland in 1801.

V

[5]

Regis Danorum.

VI

[6]

Regis Ungarie.

V. The King of Denmark. [No. 5.

Gules, a lion rampant crowned or, holding in his forepaws a Danish battle-axe argent, handled of the second.

The handle ought to be argent.

These are the arms of Norway. The arms of Denmark are: Or, semée of hearts gules, three lions passant gardant in pale azure crowned of the field. These have been borne with numerous quarterings variously marshalled at different times. Sir David Lindsay gives as the arms of the King of Denmark and as the impalement of Margaret of Denmark, Queen of James III.: Quarterly, first Denmark, second Sweden, third Norway, fourth Vandalia; over all, dividing the quarterings, a cross argent fimbriated gules; on an inescutcheon, quarterly, first and fourth Schleswig, second and third Holstein; on an inescutcheon over all, Oldenburg (13, 31).

In the arms of Anne of Denmark, Queen of James VI., as given by Willement, Norway is borne in the second quarter (Pl. XXII.).

The Garter plate of Frederick II. at Windsor (1581) bears: Quarterly, first Denmark, second Norway, third Sweden, fourth Jutland, these four divided by a cross argent fimbriated gules, in base Vandalia; on an inescutcheon, quarterly, first Schleswig, second Holstein, third Stormark, fourth Dietmarschen; on an inescutcheon over all, Oldenburg impaling Delmenhurst (Boutell, pp. 310, 326).

The arms of Margaret, Queen of James III., are shown, impaled with Scotland, in a painting at Holyrood, which contains the portraits of the King and Queen and others. The field is divided into four quarters by a cross argent fimbriated gules, and the marshalling is: Quarterly, first Sweden, second Denmark, third Norway, fourth Vandalia; on an inescutcheon, quarterly, first and fourth Holstein, second and third Schleswig; on an inescutcheon over all, Oldenburg (Boutell, p. 327).

Norway has not been borne in the arms of Denmark since the separation of those countries in 1814.

Three lions passant gardant, not crowned, in a field semée of hearts are the bearings on a counterseal of Knut VI. (1182-1202). The crowns on the lions are first found about 1250 (*Memoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1885, pp. 70-71).

No. 6.] VI. THE KING OF HUNGARY.

Argent, four bars gules.

This ought to be : Gules, four bars argent.

Sir David Lindsay gives the arms: Barry of eight or and gules (15).

The four silver bars have been fabled to have had their origin from the four principal rivers that "thwart" the country (Nisbet, i. 62).

Willement, in his illustration of the achievement of Margaret of Anjou, the Queen of Henry VI., taken from the hall-window at Ockwells House, near Maidenhead, Berkshire, shows Hungary: Barry of six argent and gules (Plate IX., No. 2).

VII

[7]

Regis Portugalie.

VIII

[8]

Regis Aragonie.

VII. The King of Portugal. [No. 7.

Argent, five escutcheons in cross azure, each charged with as many plates in saltire, all within an orle embattled counter-embattled of the second.

Instead of the orle there ought to be a bordure of Castile.

Willement blazons Portugal: "Argent on five escutcheons in cross Azure, as many plates in saltire, all within a bordure Gules charged with eight castles Or," and says: "The plates were (according to tradition) adopted by Alphonso the First, in honour of the five wounds of our Saviour, and to have been used as his device at the battle of Ourique in 1139, where he defeated five Moorish kings; he is said to have in consequence repeated the charge on the five escutcheons of the conquered monarchs. The bordure was added by Alphonso the Fifth after his marriage with the daughter of Alphonso the Wise, King of Castile; the arms of which province were: Gules, a castle Or" (pp. 93, 94).

Sir David Lindsay reverses the tinctures, making the arms: Azure, five escutcheons in cross argent, each charged with as many torteaux of the field (in English blazon, hurts) in saltire, all within a bordure or charged with eight towers gules (17).

No. 8.] VIII. THE KING OF ARAGON.

Quarterly: first and fourth Paly of six argent and gules; second and third Gules, an eagle displayed argent.

The arms of Aragon are: Or, four pallets gules, being those of the Counts of Barcelona.

Nisbet says (*Essay on Armories*, p. 153): "The Count of Barsolon, when he conquered the kingdom of Arragon, pulled down its arms, Argent, a cross gules, cantoned with four Moors' heads proper; and erected his own, Or, four pallets gules".

Sir David Lindsay gives them: Or, four pallets gules (14).

The arms quartered second and third seem to be those of Poland improperly inserted here and omitted from the shield of the King of Poland (No. 12); or perhaps the combination may have been suggested by that in the coat of Sicily-Aragon, in the second and third of which, however (Suabia), the tinctures are different (No. 11).

The legend attaching to the origin of the bearings is that, in 873, Geoffrey de Velon, Count of Barcelona, "returning all bloody from battle," the King of Spain dipped his fingers in the Count's blood, and drew red lines with them on his shield.

A variety of the tradition is found in Ford's *Spain* (1845, p. 492), the blazon given there, however, being rather confused. "The heraldic arms of Barcelona are Or, four bars gules, with St. George's cross argent. These were the bearings of the old counts; and are said to have been assumed by Wilfrid *el velloso* (he had hair on the soles of his feet); after a battle with the Normans, he drew his bloody fingers over his shield—a truly soldier-like blazon—*cruor horrida tinxerat arma*."

There is a similar tradition as to the origin of the arms of Keith (No. 30).

According to Menestrier the arms of Barcelona are relative to the name "barras longas" (*Origine des ornemens des Armoiries*, p. 342).

IX

[9]

Regis Cipri.

X

[10]

Regis Navarre.

IX. The King of Cyprus. [No. 9.

Gules, a cross between four wheels of four spokes argent.

The arms of Cyprus were those of the Counts of Lusignan: Barry of ten argent and azure, a lion rampant gules. This appears in the fourth quarter of the arms of the King of Sicily (No. 11).

The sovereignty of Cyprus was given by Richard I., who had taken the island from the Saracens, to Guy de Lusignan, titular King of Jerusalem, and it remained with that family until 1487.

The Dukes of Savoy, as titular Kings of Cyprus, bore in their first grand quarter: Quarterly, first Jerusalem, second Lusignan, third Armenia (Or, a lion rampant gules), fourth Luxembourg (Argent, a lion with a double tail in saltire gules); of which Nisbet (*Essay on Armories*, p. 219) says: "These four quarters are the Imperial ensigns of the kingdom of Cyprus".

The arms of Savoy are: Gules, a cross argent.

The arms of the Emperor of Constantinople on the ceiling of Saint Alban's Cathedral (Gules, a cross moline or cantoned with four bezants, each charged with a plain cross of the field—Appendix, p. 154), may be noted as resembling in form those attributed to the King of Cyprus on the Saint Machar ceiling. It seems possible, allowing for fading or discoloration and incorrect renewal of the tinctures, that the arms here attributed to Cyprus were originally those of Constantinople.

In the Roll of the thirteenth century (*supra*, p. 87) the arms of the Emperor of Constantinople are given of the same form as they are on the St. Alban's ceiling, but with the field crusilly and the cross "passant"; and those of the King of Cyprus: "Vert besantee vn crois passant d'or".

No. 10.] X. THE KING OF NAVARRE.

Gules, an escarbuncle of eight rays within an orle pommetty or.

A more correct blazon is: Gules, a cross and saltire of chains affixed to an annulet in the fess point and to an orle (sometimes a double orle) or.

Otherwise: Gules, a cross saltire and double orle of chains all linked together or. "It has been generally represented with the double orle since the sixteenth century" (Planché). Planché gives an example from Jerome de Bara—an escarbuncle of "eight sceptres pometty fleury," without the orle.

The ancient arms were: Azure, a cross pommetty argent.

Willement (Pl. II., fig. 3) shows this cross as the arms of Queen Berengaria, and says (p. 10) that her brother (Sancho, King of Navarre) "changed this device for the trellis of chains to commemorate the nature of his victory over the Moors in the field of Tolosa," where he is said to have broken through the iron chain that surrounded the Moorish camp.

Menestrier derives the chain, called in Navarre "una varra" or "na varra," from the name of the kingdom (*Origine des ornemens.* Extrait du *Journal des Sçavans*).

Planché says of the trellis of chains: "It superseded the silver cross upon blue, about A.D. 1200".

Sir David Lindsay gives as the arms of "Navern" what may be blazoned: Or, an escarbuncle of eight rays flory and as many pointed gules, thus reversing the tinctures (18).

XI

[11]

Regis Sicille.

XII

[12]

Regis Polonie.

No. 12.] XII. THE KING OF POLAND.

Gules, a horse passant argent furnished or.

The arms of the kingdom of Poland were: Quarterly: first and fourth Gules, an eagle displayed argent crowned or, Poland; second and third Gules, a knight armed *cap-à-pie*, mounted upon a horse argent caparisoned azure, holding in the right hand a sword proper, and in the left a shield of the third charged with a patriarchal cross or, Lithuania.

These are arms of dominion. The kings of Poland, being elective, used to bear their own arms on an inescutcheon over those of the dominion (Nisbet, *Essay on Armories*, p. 152).

Sir David Lindsay gives the arms of the King of "Pole": Quarterly, first and fourth Poland, second and third Lithuania, the eagles not crowned, the field of Lithuania azure instead of gules, and without a shield on the knight's left arm (17).

XIII

[13]

Regis Bohemie.

XIV

[14]

Ducis Burbonie.

XIII

[illegible]

Regis Bohemie.

XIV

[illegible]

Durtſ Burbonie.

XIII. The King of Bohemia. [No. 13.

Paly of eight argent and gules.

The arms of Bohemia are: Gules, a lion rampant queue fourchée in saltire argent, crowned or.

Sir David Lindsay gives these as the bearings of the King of "Bewme" (16).

The arms of Anne, first Queen of Richard II., and "daughter of Charles, King of the Romans and of Bohemia, who was afterwards Emperor, were painted in the north window of the choir of St. Olave's Church, Old Jewry". They were: Quarterly, first and fourth the Empire, second and third Bohemia, and were marshalled tiercée in pale with those of Saint Edward and of her husband (Willement, p. 24, Pl. VI. 4).

The ancient arms of Bohemia were: Gules, an eagle displayed chequy or and sable. The double-tailed lion was given to Ladislaus II., King of Bohemia, by the Emperor Frederick (Nisbet, i. 290).

No. 14.] XIV. THE DUKE OF BOURBON.

France modern, surmounted of a bendlet gules.

"Robert of France, Count of Clermont, younger son of Louis IX.," "carried France bruised with a baton peri gules. He married Beatrix, daughter and heiress to John, Lord Bourbon, whose eldest son carried the foresaid bearing, from whom issued the noble family of Bourbon" (Nisbet, ii. 8).

In *Les Souverains du Monde*, these arms are shown in a plate of the bearings of the branches of the royal house of France as those of Conty; the arms of the Prince de Bourbon have a bordure gules in addition to the baton peri (*i.e.*, couped short).

"The house of Bourbon beareth France with a batune gules, though the proper and true coat of Bourbon is or, a lion gules within an orle of escallops azure" (Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*).

XV

[15]

Juris Gilzie.

XVI

[16]

Nefezil Abezdonie.

XV

Henry Gelzte.

Deferts Aberdonte.

XV. The Duke of Gueldres. [No. 15.

Azure, a lion rampant or, Gueldres, impaling Or, a lion rampant sable, Flanders, the lions respecting each other.

The lions are langued gules, and are the only ones on the ceiling that are langued of a different tincture from their bodies.

Boutell (pp. 163, 164) says that M. Bouton (*Nouveau Traité de Blason*, p. 322) blazons the lion of Gueldres crowned, and that "in an illuminated MS. of the fifteenth century, in the College of Arms (*Collectanea Curiosa*, l. xiv.), both the lions are crowned, and the lion of Gueldres is also queue fourchée".

The lions respect each other, "after the usage of Continental Heraldry". Sir David Lindsay shows the lion of Gueldres crowned in the impalement of Mary of Gueldres, Queen of James II. (29), and Laing (vol. i., p. 12, No. 48, Pl. II., fig. 2) gives an engraving of her beautiful seal, showing Scotland, with the tressure complete, impaling the impaled coat of Gueldres, in which the lion of Gueldres is crowned.

No. 16.] XVI. THE CITY OF OLD ABERDEEN.

Azure, a bough-pot or charged with three salmon fishes in fret proper, and holding as many lilies of the garden, the dexter in bud, the middle full blown, the sinister half blown, stalked and leaved proper, flowered argent.

The pot of lilies is the emblem of the Blessed Virgin, the Patron Saint of the City, and the salmon fishes, disposed in the form suggested by the meshes of a net, are significant of the resources of the adjacent river.

I

[17]

Regie Celestudinis.

II

[18]

Sanctissime Mazgazete.

CHAPTER II.

SCOTTISH NOBLES.

I. THE KING OF SCOTLAND. [No. 17.

Or, a lion rampant within a double tressure flory counterflory gules.

WHATEVER truth there may be in the story that the Scottish lion had his origin as far back as the reign of King Fergus I., it is established that a lion was the earliest known ensign of the kings of Scotland. That device is believed to have been borne by William the Lion, and to have given rise to his designation. Its first authentic appearance is on the seal of Alexander II. (1214-1249), in which the tressure seems to be absent. The seal of Alexander III. (1249-1285), which bears the figure of the King on horseback, shows the lion rampant within the tressure on the shield borne upon the King's left arm.

Whatever, therefore, be the origin of the tressure, it was borne at an earlier date than the French alliance, which it has been supposed to typify, as thst alliance had no historical existence before the fourteenth century. It is not easy to account for the motive of an Act of the Scottish Parliament of 1471, ordaining that in time to come the tressure should be omitted from the royal arms. This contemplated change was never carried into effect.

Nisbet (i. 180) says: "The double tressure is not allowed to be carried by any subject without a special warrant from the sovereign, and that in these two cases: first, to those who were descended of daughters of the royal family"; "and secondly, to those who have merited well of their king and country, as a special additament of honour".

The lion rampant, and also the tressure, derived, more or less remotely, from the royal bearings, are found in the armorials of many Scottish families.

The position now held, or which ought to be held, by the Scottish lion in marshalling the royal arms in Scotland is fully treated of by Mr. Seton in *The Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland*, chap. x. The present Great Seal of Scotland has, "first and fourth Scotland; second England; third Ireland; with the unicorn as supporter on the dexter side" (Stodart, *Scottish Arms*, ii. 5), due precedence being thus given to the national insignia of Scotland.

No. 18.] II. SAINT MARGARET OF SCOTLAND.

Azure, a cross floretty between five martlets or.

The cross is given often patonce and sometimes flory.

These are the arms which were assigned to Saint Edward the Confessor long after his death.

Richard II., "having chosen King Edward the Confessor for his patron saint, impaled that holy King's arms" "in the first place, with his own in the second" (Nisbet, *Essay on Armories*, p. 128). Nisbet calls them "arms of religion". The right to bear or quarter them was granted by Richard "to some of his near kinsmen" (Boutell, p. 126).

They occur in the "original series of shields that were sculptured by Edward I., or perhaps by Henry III., in the spandrels of the wall arcades of the choir aisles" of Westminster Abbey (Boutell, p. 377). He calls them "noble shields". "There is a fine example of this shield executed in relief and diapered in the south choir aisle of Westminster Abbey; also another fine example at the entrance to Westminster Hall" (Boutell, p. 126).

"Edward IV. sometimes quartered the arms of the Confessor with France and England quarterly" (Boutell, p. 297).

Sir David Lindsay gives them impaled with Scotland as the arms of "Sanct Margaret". He makes the cross patée (21).

In reference to this coat Planché says: "When the Anglo-Norman heralds invented a coat-of-arms for Saint Edward the Confessor, they were probably guided in their choice by a coin of that monarch, on the reverse of which appears a plain cross with four birds, one in each angle or canton, and which I take to be meant for doves". He adds that Froissart, when describing the banner of Saint Edward, as borne by Richard II., describes them as "colombs".

III

[19]

Albanie Ducis.

IV

[20]

Mazchiaz Comitis.

III. The Duke of Albany. [No. 19.

Quarterly: first Scotland; second Gules, a lion rampant within a bordure argent charged with eight roses of the field, March; third Gules, three human legs conjoined in the centre at the upper part of the thighs flexed in triangle, armed proper, garnished and spurred or, Man; fourth Argent, a saltire and chief gules, Annandale.

In Annandale the chief does not extend to the sides of the shield; the field ought to be or.

Alexander Stewart, second son of James II., and father of John, the holder of the dukedom at the date of the ceiling, having been created Duke of Albany, Earl of March, Lord of Annandale and of the Isle of Man, quartered with the Royal coat the arms of March, Man, and Annandale (Nisbet, i. 264).

Boutell gives an engraving of the arms of the Isle of Man, "drawn from a roll of Edward I., preserved in the Heralds' College," in which the legs are encased in banded mail and without spurs (p. 56, Pl. XIV. 176A).

The saltire and chief of Annandale became the arms of Bruce by marriage with the heiress, instead of the paternal arms of Bruce, which were: Argent, a lion rampant azure. On the seal of Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick (1285), the chief is charged with a lion passant gardant, a seeming combination of his maternal and paternal bearings, although, in an example of an earlier date (1280), the lion does not appear (Laing, i. 29, 30, Nos. 139, 140).

This quartered coat of Albany is cut in stone on one of the piers on the north side of the Bridge of Dee.

Sir David Lindsay gives for Stewart, Duke of Albany, the same quarterings, the legs of Man apparently argent, and the field of Annandale or (37).

Laing describes the seal of Alexander, Duke of Albany, as it is represented here (i. 130, No. 790).

No. 20.] IV. THE EARL OF MARCH.

Gules, a lion rampant argent within a bordure of the last charged with eight roses of the field.

The lion rampant appears first on the seal of Patrick, fifth Earl of Dunbar, who married, in 1184, Ada, daughter of William, King of Scots, and died 1232. The seal of Patrick, the seventh Earl (1261), is a lion rampant surrounded by thirteen roses. The seal of Patrick, the eighth Earl, the first who was called Earl of March, and one of the competitors for the Crown, has a lion rampant within a bordure charged with eight roses (1291) (Stodart, ii. 7, 8).

Laing (vol. i., pp. 54, 55) gives four of the seals of Patrick, whom he calls erroneously tenth Earl of March, with three engravings. The first, not dated, shows no bordure, although he blazons it as having one. The three others, dated 1292, have the bordure charged with eight roses. In vol. ii. he gives, on the frontispiece, representations of the seal and counterseal of Patrick Dunbar, ninth Earl. His seal and counterseal appended to a charter at Durham granted by him on the 24th May, 1367, have each eleven roses in the bordure. George Dunbar, tenth Earl, has sixteen roses in his bordure; while his son, the eleventh Earl, reverted to eight roses.

In the *Armorial de Gelre* (*c.* 1369), "Count de Maerche" bears eight roses in the bordure.*

Sir David Lindsay gives the bordure charged with ten roses (39).

In 1434-5, George Dunbar, the eleventh Earl, was attainted, and at the date of the construction of the ceiling the title was held by John, Duke of Albany, who bore March in his second quarter, as we have seen (No. 19).

* The references to the *Armorial de Gelre* were furnished by Archibald H. Dunbar, Esquire, younger of Northfield, from his facsimile of the original MS., which he compared and verified at Brussels in July, 1888.

V

[21]

Mozaute Comitis zadulphi.

VI

[22]

Douglasie Comitis.

V. The Earl of Moray. [No. 21.

Argent, three cushions gules within the royal tressure.

The tressure is not shown double. The cushions are lozenge-shaped, with corners resembling tassels.

Three cushions or pillows were the paternal arms of Ranulph or Randolph, which became the feudal arms of the Earldom of Moray.

On the seal of Thomas Randolph (1280) (Laing, i. 114, No. 688) there are three pillows without a tressure.

Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, Lord of Annandale and Man, nephew of Robert Bruce, "was the first of his family who was allowed to place the double tressure round his paternal figures" (Nisbet, ii. 69).

In 1292 the seal of Thomas Ranulph, afterwards first Earl of Moray, was: "On a shield three pillows," and Froissart states that he bore: "Argent a trois oreilles de guelles" (Stodart, ii. 18).

The Regent changed the pillows to cushions by adding tassels in or about 1330.

In the *Armorial de Gelre* "Count de Morref" bears: Argent, three cushions tasseled within a double tressure flory counter-flory—with sixteen fleurs-de-lis—gules.

At the period of the ceiling, the earldom of Moray was held by James Stewart, natural son of James IV., and at his death in 1544 it lapsed to the Crown. Laing describes his seal: Quarterly: first and fourth three cushions within a double tressure flowered and counterflowered, for Moray; second and third Scotland, surmounted with a bend sinister (i. 135, No. 807).

Sir David Lindsay gives the coat of Randolph, Earl of Moray, with the field or, and that of Dunbar, Earl of Moray, with the field argent, and in the quartered coats of Stewart and Douglas, Earls of Moray, he makes the field argent (39, 43, 45). Nisbet blazons the field argent (i. 180). By modern usage it is borne or.

VI. The Earl of Douglas. [No. 22.

Argent, a human heart gules, on a chief azure three stars of the field.

These are the paternal arms of the house of Douglas, and appear here as the feudal arms of the earldom. The dignity had come to an end by the attainder of James, ninth and last Earl of Douglas,

c. 1455. There was no holder of the title at the date of the construction of the ceiling.

Sir David Lindsay gives for Douglas, Earl of Douglas: Quarterly: first Douglas; second Azure, a lion rampant argent, Galloway; third Azure, three stars argent, Murray; fourth Or, a saltire and chief gules, Annandale (39).

William, first Earl of Douglas, after his marriage with Margaret, Countess of Mar, quartered Douglas and Mar (Nisbet, *Armories*, p. 91). His eldest son James, who was killed at Otterburn, leaving no lawful issue, was succeeded in the earldom of Douglas by Archibald, Lord of Galloway, natural son of the good Sir James, who married the daughter or widow of Murray of Bothwell. This may account for the second and third of the above quarterings. Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, had a charter of Annandale from the Regent Albany in 1409, from which the fourth quartering was probably derived. The seals of other earls of Douglas described by Laing show these and other quarterings.

The original arms of Douglas were: Azure, three stars argent.

Laing (ii. 47, No. 280) gives the seal of William, Lord Douglas, (1296): On a chief three mullets. This is the earliest known armorial seal of the Douglases.

The earliest known appearance of the heart, which was added to commemorate the action of the good Sir James Douglas in setting out to carry the Bruce's heart to the Holy Land (an intention frustrated by his death in Spain), is on the seal of William, first Earl of Douglas, *c.* 1356 (Laing, i. 44, No. 236).

In the *Armorial de Gelre* "Count a Douglas" bears: Quarterly, first and fourth Douglas; second and third Azure, a bend between six cross crosslets fitchée or, for Mar.

Two examples of the heart crowned gules occur in Sir David Lindsay's MS., those of Douglas, Lord of "Niddisdaill," and Douglas of Drumlanrig (65, 98). In the other examples of Douglas given by him the heart is not crowned.

Mr. Seton says that the heart first appears ensigned with a crown on the seal of William, eleventh Earl of Angus, in 1617, and refers to Laing's *Catalogue*, No. 255 (*The Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland*, p. 224, *n.* 4). The use of the crown did not become general till about the middle of the seventeenth century.

VII

[23]

Angusie Comitis.

VIII

[24]

Mazzie Comitis.

VII. The Earl of Angus. [No. 23.

Gules, a cinquefoil pierced argent.

The Umphravilles, Earls of Angus, bore a cinquefoil within an orle of cross-crosslets; sometimes in a field semée of cross-crosslets.

"The old Earls of Angus carried argent, a lion rampant gules" (Nisbet, i. 294). In another place he gives it: "Gules, a lion rampant argent" (ii. 82). Laing (i. 22, No. 86) describes the seal of Malcolm, Earl of Angus (1225), "the last of the male line of the great and ancient Earls of Angus," as "a lion passant gardant". "He died before 1242, leaving an only daughter, Maud, who married Gilbert de Umphraville, who became Earl of Angus in her right." The seal of Gilbert de Umphraville bore a cinquefoil within ten cross-crosslets in orle (*Ibid.*, No. 87). In the *Armorial de Gelre* "die Grave van Angus" bears: Gules, a cinquefoil within an orle of cross-crosslets or.

Sir David Lindsay gives as the arms of "Makbreid, Erle of Anguss of Auld": Gules, a cinquefoil pierced or (46); and of Douglas, Earl of Angus: Quarterly: first Gules, a lion rampant argent, Angus; second Abernethy; third, Liddesdale; fourth, Stewart of Bonkill; on an escutcheon over all, Douglas (39).

Stodart (ii. 33) says the seal of Gilbert, son of Gilbert de Umphraville and Maud, daughter of Malcolm, is a cinquefoil within an orle of ten cross-crosslets (1290), and that the coat given by Sir David Lindsay as that of the ancient earls "appears to be a mistake".

Nisbet says that the armorial bearing of Gilbert, Earl of Angus, was: Azure, a cinquefoil within an orle of eight cross-crosslets or (i. 391).

Several seals of the Douglases, Earls of Angus, described by Laing, have in the first quarter a lion rampant, probably for Angus ancient.

VIII. The Earl of Mar. [No. 24.

Azure, a bend between six cross-crosslets fitchée or.

This is the original coat of the old Earls of Mar. It was associated with them, and does not seem to have been borne as belonging

to any surname apart from the earldom. The male line of the old earls came to an end at the death of Thomas, Earl of Mar, in 1377.

Laing (ii. 116, Nos. 690, 691) gives, with an illustration, the seal of Sir Donald de Marre, afterwards Earl, son of Gratney, Earl of Mar, and Christian, sister of King Robert Bruce, with the arms as given above, the bend charged with a mullet, possibly as a filial difference. He describes (No. 692) the seal of the same Donald after he became Earl as without the mullet, and (in vol. i., pp. 96, 97, Nos. 565, 566, 568) the seals of Thomas, thirteenth Earl, last of the old male line. He also gives, with an illustration, the seal of Margaret, Countess of Angus and Mar, wife of Earl Thomas (1378). It shows a female figure holding in the right hand a shield of Mar, and, in the left, one of Stewart of Bonkill (i. 131, No. 792). William, first Earl of Douglas, Earl of Mar in right of his wife, Margaret, sister of Thomas, bore: Quarterly, first and fourth Douglas, second and third Mar (1378). A broken seal of Isabel Douglas, Countess of Mar, their daughter (1404), shows a female figure holding in one hand a shield of Douglas, and in the other what, no doubt, was a corresponding shield of Mar (Laing, i. 44, 45, Nos. 238, 241).

Sir David Lindsay gives Stewart, Earl of Mar: Quarterly, Scotland and Mar; on an escutcheon over all, Or, a fess chequy argent and azure between three antique crowns gules, which seems to have been a coat composed of Stewart and Garioch, for the Lordship of Garioch (p. 38). This was apparently borne by John Stewart, third son of James II., on whom the earldom was bestowed in 1460. He also gives Stewart, Earl of Mar: Quarterly: first and fourth Scotland debruised with a bendlet engrailed sable; second and third Mar (38*a*). This may have been the coat of Alexander Stewart, son of the Wolf of Badenoch, second husband of Isabel Douglas, with the bendlet as his mark of illegitimacy. He also gives Erskine, "umquhile" Earl of Mar: Quarterly, first and fourth Mar, second and third Argent, a pale sable, Erskine (48).

In the thirteenth century Roll (*supra*, p. 87) the arms of "Le Countee de Marre" are given "d'azure billete d'or vn bend d'or".

In the *Armorial de Gelre* the arms of Mar are given as those of "Count de Mar".

IX

[25]

Sutherlan Comitis.

X

[26]

Czatuzdie Comitis.

IX. The Earl of Sutherland. [No. 25.

Gules, three stars or.

These are the ancient arms of Sutherland, Earl of Sutherland, and are the paternal arms of the name of Sutherland as well as the feudal arms of the earldom. The seal of William, Earl of Sutherland (1357), bears three mullets, or stars (Laing, ii. 158, No. 946).

After the marriage of Adam Gordon, second son of George, second Earl of Huntly, with Elizabeth, sister and heir of John, ninth and last Earl of Sutherland of the male line (*c.* 1515), the arms of Gordon appear marshalled with those of Sutherland.

The seal of John Gordon, tenth Earl of Sutherland (1546), bears "three boars' heads and necks couped, for Gordon; on a surtout three mullets, for Sutherland". That of John Gordon, twelfth Earl (1605), has: "Quarterly: first and fourth three boars' heads and necks couped, for Gordon; second and third three mullets, for Sutherland" (Laing, i. 66, Nos. 366, 367). Contemporary MSS. give the arms of the twelfth and thirteenth Earls as the quartered coat of Huntly (first Gordon, second Badenoch, third Seton, fourth Fraser) with Sutherland *en surtout.*

Afterwards the arms were also borne: Quarterly, first and fourth the quartered coat of Huntly, second and third Sutherland (Sir Robert Gordon's *History of the Earldom of Sutherland*), and sometimes first and fourth Sutherland, second and third Huntly (Nisbet, i. 254).

In the *Armorial de Gelre* "Count a Suderlant" bears: Or, three stars gules.

Sir David Lindsay gives Sutherland, Earl of Sutherland: Gules, three stars or, and also Gordon, Earl Sutherland: Quarterly, first and fourth Sutherland, second and third Azure, a boar's head couped or, for Gordon (42, 48).

In the quartered coat of the Duke of Sutherland, Sutherland is now borne within a bordure or charged with the royal tressure, "as a mark of the royal descent of the family from King Robert I." (Sir Robert Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*, 1813, ii. 587).

No. 26.] X. THE EARL OF CRAWFORD.

Quarterly: first and fourth Gules, a fess chequy argent and azure, Lindsay second and third Argent, a lion rampant gules, Abernethy.

The field of Abernethy is generally or, and the lion is debruised of a ribbon in bend sable.

The Lindsays originally bore arms which the late Lord Crawford connected with the coat of the Norman family of Limesay, from whom he considered that they originally sprung, namely, Gules, an eagle displayed or. "Towards the close of the thirteenth century," "Sir Alexander Lindsay abandoned the eagle of Limesay, and adopted the fesse-chequée argent and azure, probably in consequence of his close alliance, by kindred and interest, with the High Steward; retaining, however, the original gules, or red ground, of the shield; while his son, Sir David, employed the eagle as tenant or supporter of the escutcheon" (*Lives of the Lindsays*, i. 54, 55).

In a Roll ascribed by Mr. W. S. Walford to about the year 1300 the arms of "Raf de Limesi" are given: "Gules three eagles displayed or" (*Archaeologia*, xxxix., p. 409).

David Lindsay, the first Earl of Crawford (created 1398), quartered the arms of Abernethy with those of Lindsay, on account of the marriage of his great-grandfather, Sir David Lindsay, with one of the co-heiresses of Alexander Lord Abernethy (Nisbet, *Essay on Armories*, p. 90). This is one of the earliest instances in Scotland of quartering arms, and Lord Crawford says that it "was a corruption of the pure essence of heraldry. The Crawford family ought to have borne the simple coat of Lindsay" (*Lives, supra*).

Laing describes the seal of Simon of Lindsay (1170) as bearing an eagle displayed (i. 88, No. 504); that of Sir Walter Lindsay as an eagle standing with wings displayed, holding a flower in its beak, not on a shield, no date, probably in the twelfth century; of Sir David Lindsay, an eagle standing, wings expanded, not on a shield, early in the thirteenth century (ii. 105, Nos. 629, 630); of Sir David Lindsay, Lord of Crawford, an eagle displayed bearing on his breast a shield charged with a fess chequy (1345) (i. 88, No. 509); of Sir James Lindsay, Lord of Crawford, a fess chequy (1371) (No. 510); of David Lindsay, eighth Earl of Crawford (who succeeded 1517, died 1542, and was Earl at the date of the construction of the ceiling), quarterly, Lindsay and Abernethy (i. 90, No. 522).

In the *Armorial de Gelre* the paternal coat of Lindsay is given

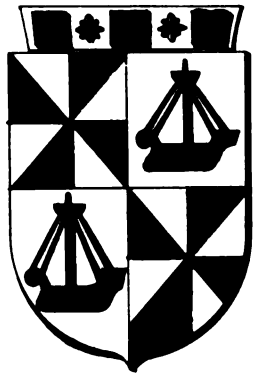
XI

[27]

Huntlie Comitis.

XII

[28]



Archadie Comitis.

to "Sur ia[mes] de Lyndezay," and the same, debruised of a bendlet, to "Sur David de Lyndezay".

Sir David Lindsay gives the arms of the Earl of Crawford: Quarterly, first and fourth Lindsay, second and third Abernethy (44).

Mr. Seton gives the arms of the various branches of the House of Lindsay, duly differenced, in a fine coloured plate containing twenty-nine shields (Pl. IV., p. 86).

XI. The Earl of Huntly. [No. 27.

Quarterly: first and fourth Azure, three boars' heads couped at the neck or, Gordon; second Or, three lions' heads erased gules, Badenoch; third Or, three crescents gules within the royal tressure, Seton.

The seal of Alexander Gordon, first Earl (1457), is described by Laing (i. 65, No. 361) as first and fourth Seton, second and third Gordon; "over all a surtout, which is much injured, but has perhaps been three lions' heads erased, for Badenoch".

George, second Earl (1470), carried: Quarterly, first Gordon, second Badenoch, third Seton, fourth Fraser (Azure, three cinquefoils argent) (No. 362). The paternal coat of Seton thus had the precedence in the bearings of the first Earl, but afterwards gave place to Gordon.

The Lordship of Badenoch was given by James II. to the first Earl after he had defeated the Earl of Crawford at the battle of Brechin, and "had relieved the king from the power of the Douglas" (Sir R. Gordon's *Earldom of Sutherland*). Hence the Badenoch quartering.

Honora, only daughter of William, Lord Keith, first wife of Alexander Seton, Lord Gordon, was served heir to her grandfather, the Lord Fraser, through her mother, Honora Fraser, and in 1442 the lands of Aboyne, Glentanar, &c., were apportioned to the Lord Gordon's wife as her share of the Lord Fraser's lands, thus introducing the arms of Fraser.

Laing (ii. 71, No. 422, Pl. VIII., fig. 1) gives the seal of Alexander, Lord Gordon, afterwards third Earl (1492): Quarterly, first Gordon, second Badenoch, third Fraser, fourth Seton, with a label of three points, and that of the same Earl in 1521 (i. 66, No. 364): Quarterly, first Gordon, second Badenoch, third Seton, fourth Fraser, which form has been used by the succeeding Earls and Marquises of Huntly and by the Dukes of Gordon.

Sir David Lindsay gives for Gordon, Earl of Huntly: Quarterly, first Gordon, second Badenoch, third Seton, and fourth five cinquefoils for Fraser ancient (40).

No. 28.] XII. THE EARL OF ARGYLL.

Quarterly: first and fourth Gyronny of eight sable and argent, Campbell; second and third Argent, a lymphad sable, Lorn.

The Campbell coat is now borne Gyronny of eight or and sable, and the galley of Lorn has the sail furled, flags flying gules, and oars in action.

Sir David Lindsay gives for Campbell, Earl of Argyll: Quarterly: first and fourth Gyronny of eight sable and argent; second and third Or, a galley sable having at the masthead a brazier of fire proper (40).

Nisbet describes the galley as having flames of fire issuing from the top of the mast, and from the fore and hinder parts of the ship.

The Lorn quartering came by the marriage of Colin Campbell, first Earl of Argyll, with Isabel, eldest of the three daughters of John Stewart, who had been created Lord of Lorn by James II. (1445), the Lordship having been resigned by Walter Stewart of Innermeath in the Earl's favour in the hands of James III. in 1469. The Barony of Lorn, which belonged anciently to the Macdougals, came to a Stewart of the family of Darnley by marriage with the heiress of the Macdougals.

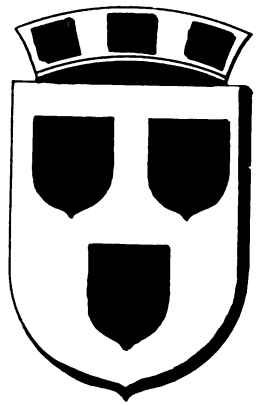
The earliest example of the Campbell coat given by Laing is the seal of Nicholas Campbell (1292): Gyronny of eight (i. 32, No. 153). He describes the seal of Colin Campbell, first Earl (1470): Gyronny of eight (i. 32, No. 154). That of Archibald, second Earl (1495): Quarterly, first and fourth Campbell, second and third Lorn (ii. 28, No. 161); and that of Colin, third Earl (contemporary with the ceiling): Quarterly, first and fourth Campbell, second and third Lorn (i. 32, No. 155.)

Mr. Stodart notes that in Workman's MS., which was compiled about 1565-6 (ii. 97), the arms of the Earl of Argyll are given as in Sir David Lindsay's MS., but with "no fire at the masthead of the lymphad; in the Campbell coat the alternate gyrons are argent, but the word 'or' is added" (this is in a handwriting of later date), and that in a MS. ascribed to Sir David Lindsay the younger (Lyon, 1591-1621): "The Campbell coat is Gyronny of eight or and sable".

"The old barons of the countries of Arran and Lorn were obliged to furnish a ship in time of war to the king, as their old charters bear: 'reddendo unam navim viginti remorum,' upon which account they carry ships or lymphads" "as feudal arms" (Nisbet, *Essay on Armories*, p. 9).

XIII

[29]



Ezolie Comitis.

XIV

[30]

Maziscalli Comitis.

XIII. The Earl of Errol. [No. 29.

Argent, three escutcheons gules.

These are the paternal arms of Hay, borne by the Earls of Errol as heads of the house.

Little credence is now given to the legendary origin of these arms.

Nisbet (i. 182) says that the king gave them to the peasant of Luncarty "to intimate that the father and the two sons had been luckily the three shields of Scotland". It is more likely that the legend was suggested by the arms than that the arms were founded on the legend. The legend, however, has in its turn furnished the crest and supporters of more than one branch of the family.

Laing describes the seal of Nicholas Hay (1292) (i. 74, No. 417), and also that of William, the fourth Earl, who was killed at Flodden, as three escutcheons (i. 75, No. 425).

Sir David Lindsay gives the three escutcheons for "Haye, Erle of Errell" (41).

The Hays were most probably a branch of the Norman De la Hayes. "When," says Mr. Planché, "we can ascertain whose daughter was Eva, the wife of William de Haya, living in 1174, we may be able, perhaps, to account for the adoption of these arms without going back to the time of the Danish invasion of Scotland in 980."

No. 30.] XIV. THE EARL MARISCHAL.

Argent, a chief paly of six or and gules.

The chief here is brought down so far that the shield appears to be parted per fess.

These are the ancient bearings of the family of Keith.

Probably the earliest known example is the seal of Sir Robert Keith, Knight-Marischal of Scotland (1316), given by Laing (i. 81, No. 461). He gives various other examples of them in the same form.

They appear in that form in the *Armorial de Gelre* as the arms of "court a keets"; in Sir David Lindsay's MS. as those of the Earl Marischal (41), and on the stone over the gateway of Marischal College.

In 1672, the arms of George, seventh Earl Marischal, were registered as: Argent, on a chief gules three pallets or, a departure from the ancient usage, for which there does not seem to have been any good reason. Tradition professes to account for the device by the story that at the battle of Panbride, in 1006, King Malcolm II. dipped his fingers in blood and drew three strokes on the top of the shield of Robert, a chief of the Catti, progenitor of the race of Keith, who had killed the king of the Danes. Here also it may be surmised that the legend was manufactured to suit the bearings.

The arms of Barcelona have a similar legendary origin (No. 8).

XV

[31]

Bochtulie Comitis.

XVI

[32]

Nove Abezdonie.

XV. The Earl of Bothwell. [No. 31.

Gules, on a chevron argent a rose between two lions combatant of the field.

The arms of Hepburn, containing as they do the same figures and tinctures as those of the Earls of Dunbar, though differently arranged, are conjectured by Nisbet (i. 152-3) to have been assumed from those of Dunbar as arms of patronage. He says that the first of this name was an Englishman whom the Earl of Dunbar took prisoner and brought to Scotland, and, being a brave and valiant man, the Earl gave him the lands of Hales and others in East Lothian.

The earliest example given by Laing is the seal of Patrick Hepburn (1371) (i. 75, No. 427), which he blazons: "On a chevron, a rose between two lions rampant respecting, within a bordure engrailed". He also describes the seal of Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell (1538) (the Earl at the period of the ceiling), as "Quarterly: first and fourth a bend, for De Vaux," or Vass, of Dirleton; "second and third Hepburn" (i. 76, 429), and gives a representation of the seal of Patrick Hepburn, third Earl, which has Hepburn with an anchor in base, as indicating the office of Lord High Admiral (ii. 83, 493, Plate III., fig. 7).

In the *Armorial de Gelre* the arms of Hepburn are given as above.

Sir David Lindsay gives Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell: Quarterly, first and fourth Or, a bend azure, for Vass, second and third Hepburn (42).

No. 32.] XVI. THE BURGH OF ABERDEEN.

Gules, three towers argent, windows and ports sable, within an orle of the second.

The blazon given in the patent granted by the Lyon King of Arms in 1674 is: Gules, three towers triple-towered within a double tressure counterflowered argent.

At the date of the construction of the ceiling, and afterwards until as late as 1675, the seal used by the Corporation of Aberdeen was the one of which Laing gives an engraving (i., Plate XXIX., figs. 1, 2). The matrix of this seal, dated 1430, which had been lost sight of for many years, was lately recovered by Mr. P. J. Anderson and the late Mr. John Cruickshank, and restored to the custody of the Corporation. It shows only one tower, within the tressure. Three towers appear on the seal of causes (1440) described by Laing (i. 208, No. 1148), and about the middle of the seventeenth century the three towers appear on Raban's title-pages, on the map by Gordon, Parson of Rothiemay, and elsewhere.

For the history of these bearings, reference may be made to *The Armorial Ensigns of the Royal Burgh of Aberdeen*, by the late John Cruickshank.

Perth is the only other burgh that bears in its arms the honourable augmentation of the double tressure.

I

[33]

Pontificis Romani.

II

[34]

Sanctiand Archiepi.

ANDW. BIRD & CO. LITHR.
2, QUEEN ST. LONDON

I

[33]

Pontifices Romani.

II

[34]

Sanctiand Archiepi.

CHAPTER III.

CHURCH DIGNITARIES.

I. The Pope.

Leo X. Giovanni de' Medici. [No. 33.

Or, six balls in orle, that in chief of France, the others gules.

Otherwise, Or, five balls in orle gules and one in chief azure charged with three fleurs-de-lis of the field.

Originally the charges were six balls gules, borne usually in orle, but sometimes three, two, and one. In 1465, Louis XI. of France granted to Piero de' Medici, grandfather of Leo X., an augmentation formed by substituting for the red ball in chief a blue one charged with the three golden lilies of France, "in recognisance of the league and fidelity wherein he promised to stand bound to serve the king at his own charges" (Peacham).

The origin of the bearings is not known. Possibly they were derived, in common with the name, from the supposed profession of the founders of the house, and represented pills; but a more heroic origin was found for them in the story that "Averardo de' Medici, a commander under Charlemagne," "for his valour in destroying the gigantic plunderer Mugello, by whom the surrounding country was laid waste, was honoured with the privilege of bearing for his arms six *palle* or balls, as characteristic of the iron balls that hung from the mace of his fierce antagonist, the impression of which remained on his shield" (Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, i. 7, note (*a*); Ed. 1795).

It is almost needless to remark that coat armour was unknown in the time of Charlemagne.

No. 34.] II. THE ARCHBISHOP OF SAINT ANDREWS.

ANDREW FORMAN.

Quarterly: first and fourth Azure, a chevron or between three fishes haurient argent; second and third Sable, a camel's head erased or collared gules campaned of the second.

It is doubtful which of these coats is borne for Forman.

Stodart (ii. 90) says: "There are several seals of Andrew, Archbishop of St. Andrews: 1501, a camel's head; 1502-14, quarterly, first and fourth, a chevron between three fishes; second and third, a camel's head erased, collared and campaned; 1518, the chevron and fish impaling the coat with a camel's head. It has been said that the fish are for Fisher, but of this there is no proof, and it remains uncertain which is the paternal coat; W." (Workman's MS.) "places the camel's head in the first and fourth quarters". And at page 112 in his notes on Workman's MS., "Formane of yt Ilk, first and fourth, a camel's head erased campaned, this is not painted; second and third, sable, a chevron between three fishes haurient. Notes on the margin make the field in the first and fourth sable, and the bell or; the quartering is said to be Fisher, and the field marked azure."

In Mr. Stodart's first volume, Plate 28, there is a *facsimile*, taken from "Additions to Sir David Lindsay's MS.," of the "Armes of the right worschipfull Shir Robert Foirman, Lyon King at Armes". These are: First and fourth Sable, three camels' heads erased or, bridled of the field, campaned of the second; second and third Azure, a chevron between three fishes haurient argent.

The presumption, therefore, is that the camel's head or heads are the paternal bearings of Forman.

Laing (i. 148) describes the seals of Archbishop Forman (Nos. 877 and 878), and says: "In the lower part of the seal is a shield quarterly, first and fourth, a chevron between three fishes haurient, for Forman; second and third, a horse's head erased, and a hawk's bell at the neck, for Horsburgh". This seems to be a mistake for the camel's head, and may, perhaps, have suggested the name of Horsburgh. The arms of Horsburgh of that Ilk were: Azure, a horse's head couped argent.

III

[35]

Glasguen Archiepi.

IV

[36]

Dunkelden Episcopi.

ANDW. GIBB & CO. LITHO
EDINBURGH

III

[36]

Glasguen Archiepi.

IV

[36]

Dunkelden Episcopi.

III. The Archbishop of Glasgow. [No. 35.

James Bethune or Beaton.

Quarterly: first and fourth Azure, a fess between three mascles or, Bethune; second and third Argent, on a chevron sable an otter's head erased of the field, Balfour.

These were the arms of Bethune of Balfour, to which family the Archbishop belonged.

The Balfour quartering was added to the coat of Bethune on account of the marriage of Robert de Bethune with the daughter and heiress of Sir John Balfour of that Ilk, in the reign of Robert II.

Laing (i. 149, Nos. 879, 880) describes a seal of James Beton, when Archbishop of Saint Andrews, to which See he was translated from Glasgow in 1522, as having "at the lower part" "a shield quarterly, first and fourth, a fess between three lozenges, for Beton; second and third, a chevron charged with an otter's head, for Balfour".

No. 36.] IV. THE BISHOP OF DUNKELD.

GAVIN DOUGLAS.

Argent, a human heart gules, on a chief azure three stars of the field.

Laing (ii. 172, No. 1022) describes a seal of this Bishop as having in base a shield bearing: Quarterly, first Angus, second Abernethy, third Brechin, fourth Stewart of Bonkil; on an escutcheon surtout, Douglas.

His nephew, Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, bore the same quarterings and escutcheon (Laing, i. 47, No. 252).

A seal of the Bishop's father, Archibald, fifth Earl (Bell-the-Cat), is thus described by Laing (i. 47, No. 251): Quarterly: first a lion rampant for Angus (?); second a lion rampant debruised with a ribbon for Abernethy; third three chevrons for Liddesdale; fourth fretty for Lauderdale; on a surtout, Douglas.

V

[37]

Gavin Abezdonen.

VI

[38]

Mozauien Episcopi.

V. The Bishop of Aberdeen. [No. 37.

Gavin Dunbar.

Argent, three cushions gules within the royal tressure.

The cushions have no tassels, and thus resemble the pillows which were the original bearings of Ranulph.

These are the arms of Ranulph or Randolph, Earl of Moray. Those of Dunbar, Earls of Dunbar and Earls of March, were: Gules, a lion rampant argent within a bordure of the last charged with eight roses of the field (No. 20).

In 1357, the Earldom of Moray was conferred by David II. on Patrick, ninth Earl of March and Dunbar, who had married Black Agnes, elder sister and coheir of John, the last Earl of the male line of the Ranulphs; and the Dunbars, Earls of Moray, thenceforth took for their arms the coat of Ranulph, which had become the territorial arms of the earldom. Those arms were borne by the Dunbars of Westfield, who were descended from James, eighth and last Dunbar, Earl of Moray. Laing (i. 56, No. 298) gives an engraving of the seal of Alexander Dunbar, first of Westfield, the father of the Bishop, "a fess between three cushions; all within a double tressure flowered and counterflowered" (1488).

Stone carvings of the arms of Bishop Dunbar (the three cushions or pillows, sometimes within the tressure and sometimes without that addition) occur frequently in and about Aberdeen. Among these may be mentioned those on his tomb in the south transept of the Cathedral of Saint Machar, on both towers of the Cathedral, on the wall of King's College Chapel, and on the piers and buttresses of the Bridge of Dee.

In these carvings, as well as on the ceiling, the cushions resemble lozenges, and have no tassels. In Sir David Lindsay's MS. they are tasseled and pendent from the corners (39).

Laing gives two seals of the Bishop, each having at the lower part a shield bearing three cushions within the royal tressure (i. 154, No. 899; ii. 174, No. 1033).

No. 38.] VI. THE BISHOP OF MORAY.

JAMES HEPBURN.

Gules, on a chevron argent a rose between two lions combatant of the field, in base a heart-shaped buckle of the second.

These are the arms of Hepburn of Blackcastle, the buckle of this tincture and shape being the difference of that family. They were descended of Riccarton, whose difference was a buckle in base or (Nisbet, i. 163).

Laing (i. 157, No. 912) describes a seal of this Bishop, and gives an engraving of it (Plate XIX., fig. 5), having, in the lower part, the arms with the heart-shaped buckle in base.

VII. The Bishop of Ross. [No. 39.

Robert Cockburn.

Argent, three cocks gules.

The arms are those of Cockburn of that Ilk, Berwickshire, and not those of Cockburn of Skirling, whose difference was a spear's head.

Laing (ii. 183, No. 1068) gives a seal of this Bishop, and says that "the lower part of the seal, usually occupied by the shield, is broken off" (1515), and one of the same Robert Cockburn, when Bishop of Dunkeld (ii. 172, No. 1023), having "a shield bearing three cocks" (1525). He was third son of Sir William Cockburn of Cessfurd and Skirling.

No. 40.] VIII. THE BISHOP OF BRECHIN.

JOHN HEPBURN.

Gules, on a chevron argent a rose between two lions combatant of the field.

These are the paternal arms of Hepburn.

Laing (i. 159, No. 919) describes a seal of this Bishop as having "at the lower part a shield, bearing the arms of Hepburn".

IX

[41]

Cathanen Episcopi.

X

[42]

Candide: case Episcopi.

IX

[41]

Cathanen Episcopi.

X

[42]

Candide:case Episcopi.

IX. The Bishop of Caithness. [No. 41.

Andrew Stewart.

Quarterly: first and fourth Or, a fess chequy argent and azure, Stewart; second and third Paly of six or and sable, Athol.

The fess is here argent and azure, and it is so represented by Sir David Lindsay in the arms of the Earl of Athol. The blazon azure and argent, as given in the *Armorial de Gelre* and also by Nisbet, is probably more correct.

The common idea that the fess checky was in its origin allusive to the checker of the Steward's board is somewhat shaken by the fact pointed out by Mr. Ellis in his *Antiquities of Heraldry* that a fess chequy between three cross crosslets is on the seals of the family of Boteler, descended from the daughter and heir of William Fitzalan, son of the elder brother of the first High Steward of Scotland. A *field* chequy occurs in the earliest heraldry of England and France, appearing in the arms of the Earls of Warren, Earls of Mellent, and various cognate families; with whom, however, it has not been proved that the Stewarts or Fitzalans claimed kindred.

Robert II., on his accession to the throne, ceased to use his paternal arms of Stewart and bore the arms of Scotland, but the fess chequy has continued to be borne, with various differences or variously composed, by all the branches of the house of Stewart except the Royal line and some of their immediate descendants.

The fess and other ordinaries chequy occur in the bearings of several Scotch families (Lindsay, Boyd, Semple, Menteith, &c.), having been derived from the Stewart fess either by descent, or, as Nisbet says, taken "in imitation of the Stewarts or as vassals to them".

Stodart (ii. 28) says: "The seal of Alan Stuart, *c.* 1190, is the first in which the fess checquy appears". Laing gives the seal (i. 127, No. 772) with an engraving (Plate III., fig. 2), and says that it is perhaps the earliest instance of this well-known bearing.

In the *Armorial de Gelre* "Syr Alexsander Stuwart" bears: Or, a fess chequy azure and argent, and "Sur ioon Senescal" bears the same debruised of a bendlet gules.

The other quartering is the coat of the ancient Earls of Athol. It has been borne by the various lines which have held that earldom, either alone or as a feudal quartering belonging to the earldom.

In the Roll of the thirteenth century (*supra*, p. 87) the arms of "Le Countee de Asceles" are given: "Paly d'or et de sable".

The arms appear as three pales on the seal of John of Strathbogie, Earl of Athol (1292) (Laing, i. 125, No. 761), and in the *Armorial de Gelre*, Or, three pallets sable, is given as the arms of "Count a Assol".

Sir David Lindsay gives the quartered coat, as it is here, as the arms of Stewart, Earl of Athol (42).

This prelate was a younger son of John, first of the Stewart Earls of Athol, who was eldest son of the "Black Knight of Lorn," by Joan of Beaufort, widow of King James I.

The usage here differs from that in the case of Bishop Gavin Douglas (No. 36), where only the paternal arms are given, without the feudal quarterings.

No. 42.] X. THE BISHOP OF GALLOWAY.

DAVID ARNOT.

Azure, a star or, on a chief argent three roses gules.

The arms of Arnot of that Ilk were: Argent, a chevron between three stars gules.

Other families of the name had the same bearings, with differences.

The only figure in this coat in common with these is the star, and the tinctures are different.

The Bishop was a son of John Arnot of that Ilk.

XI

[illegible]

Dumblanen Episcopi.

XII

[illegible]

Lismoren: Episcopi.

XI. The Bishop of Dunblane. [No. 43.

James Chisholm.

Gules, a boar's head couped at the neck argent.

Laing (ii. 180, No. 1057) gives a seal of this Bishop with an engraving (Plate IX., fig. 7). He says that it has in base "a shield bearing a boar's head and neck erased". The engraving shows a boar's head without the neck.

Sir David Lindsay gives the arms of "Lord Chissam of auld": Gules, a boar's head and neck couped argent (65).

The Bishop was a son of Chisholm of Cromlix, who was a son of Chisholm of that Ilk, county Roxburgh.

No. 44.] XII. THE BISHOP OF ARGYLL.

DAVID HAMILTON.

Gules, three cinquefoils pierced argent.

The paternal arms of the house of Hamilton are: Gules, three cinquefoils ermine, and they are so borne by many important branches of the family. The cinquefoils were borne argent in the arms of the Hamiltons of Preston, Innerwick, Bangour, Silvertonhill, Sanquhar, &c.

The family of Hamilton are said by Nisbet (i. 382) to "derive their descent from the old Earls of Leicester in England and Mellant in Normandy, who carried gules, a cinquefoil ermine, the paternal coat of Mellant". "On the seal of Robert de Bellomont, called Fitz Pernel, Earl of Leicester, A.D. 1191-1206, is seen the rude impression of a cinquefoil ermine" (Planché).

The alleged descent of the Hamiltons from the Leicester family has not been proved. The oldest known ancestor is Walter Fitzgilbert, who swore fealty to Edward in 1296, and kept Bothwell Castle for the English.

This Bishop was a natural son of James, first Lord Hamilton.

XIII

[45]

Ozrhaden Episcopi.

XIV

[46]

Sodazensis Episcopi.

XIII

[45]

Orchaden Episcopi.

XIV

[46]

Sadrensis Episcopi.

XIII. The Bishop of Orkney. [No. 45.

Edward Stewart.

Or, a fess chequy azure and argent within the royal tressure.

This is the form of the arms of Stewart borne by the family of Bute, who represent the hereditary Sheriffs of Bute, the first of whom was John Stewart, natural son of Robert II. They seem to have borne formerly the paternal arms of Stewart (Nisbet, i. 52).

Stodart (ii. 78) gives "Steuarte of Butte," from Forman's Roll (1562), the simple coat of Stewart, and (ii. 116) "Y^e^ S^r^ of Buit," from Workman's MS. (1565-6), the same coat of Stewart.

The seal of David Stewart, Earl of Strathearn (1374) (Laing, i. 126, No. 768), has a fess chequy for Stewart, between two chevrons for Stratherne, all within the tressure.

XV

[47]

Pziozis Sanctiandz.

XVI

[48]

Almę huius Universitatis.

XV

Prioris Sanctiandr.

XVI

Almæ huius Universitatis.

XV. The Prior of Saint Andrews. [No. 47.

John Hepburn.

Gules, on a chevron argent a rose between two lions combatant of the field.

As in the case of John Hepburn, Bishop of Brechin, the paternal arms of Hepburn, without a difference, are used here. Laing (i. 199, No. 1109) describes a seal of the Prior and says: "At the lower part is a shield bearing the arms of Hepburn".

No. 48.] XVI. UNIVERSITY AND KING'S COLLEGE, OLD ABERDEEN.

Azure, an open book proper within an orle argent.

The University of Aberdeen possesses a seal "believed to have been given by the founder, Bishop Elphinston, to King's College" (Principal Campbell's notes in *The Herald and Genealogist* before referred to), which shows the arms borne by the University and King's College until the union with Marischal College and University in 1860.

The blazon of these is: Azure, a bough pot or charged with three salmon fishes in fret proper and holding as many lilies of the garden, the dexter in bud the middle full blown the sinister half blown, stalked and leaved proper flowered argent; in chief amid rays of the sun issuant downwards a dexter hand holding an open book all proper.

The orle appears to have been introduced as a fancy of the painter, suggested perhaps by the orle, which ought to be a double tressure, in the corresponding shield of the arms of the Burgh of Aberdeen (No. 32).

By means of a bequest made by the late Mr. John Cruickshank, ensigns armorial have now been matriculated as the arms of the University of Aberdeen by warrant of the Lyon King of Arms, dated 26th September, 1888, the blazon of which is as follows: "*Quarterly, first*, Azure, a Bough pot Or charged with three Salmon fishes in fret proper and containing as many Lilies of the garden the dexter in bud the centre full blown and the sinister half blown also proper flowered Argent, issuant downwards from the middle chief amid Rays of the Sun a Dexter Hand holding an open Book likewise proper; *second*, Argent, a Chief paly of six Or and Gules; *third*, Argent, a Cheveron Sable between three Boars' Heads erased Gules armed of the field and langued Azure; *fourth*, Gules, a Tower triple towered Argent masoned Sable windows and port of the last".

END OF PART II. (HERALDIC SECTION).

APPENDICES.

ANT. I do love these ancient ruins:
We never tread upon them but we set
Our foot upon some reverend history.
And questionless here, in this open court,
Which now lies naked to the injuries
Of stormy weather, some men lie interred,
Loved the Church so well, and gave so largely to't,
They thought it should have canopied their bones
Till doomsday: but all things have their end.
Churches and cities, which have diseases like to men,
Must have like death that we have.

—WEBSTER, *Duchess of Malfi* (v., Sc. 3).

Photogravure, T & R. Annan & Sons.

Gallmunt dumbar Abdonen epc

[illegible]

Zu Wunsch dunkler Abdonen Epo

APPENDIX I.

Notes on the Life of Bishop Gavin Dunbar.

*** *The following outline of the life and doings of Bishop Gavin Dunbar is based upon that given in the History of the See and its Bishops, forming the Preface to the Edition of the "Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis"* (vol. i., p. lii.), *published by the former Spalding Club. A few additions to that text may be recognised as being in italics, and the citations now added enable us to trace a good many additional "vestigia" of his path.*

On the decease of Bishop Alexander Gordon, who died on the 30th of June, 1518, "Gavin Dunbar succeeded,* a prelate whose power in the state and zeal for his Church would have secured him the highest panegyrics of the Church historians, if he had followed less closely Bishop Elphinston. He was the [*fourth*] son of Sir Alexander Dunbar of Westfield,† by his wife Elizabeth [*or Isabella*], daughter of Alexander Sutherland of Duffus. We are not informed of his first living in the Church; but he is found dean of his native diocese of Moray in 1487.[1] And he held that office, apparently alone, till after the 22nd of August, 1498.[2] On the 24th of May, 1503, he was Dean of Moray, and also Clerk of Register and of Council,[3] and he bears the same titles on March 13th of the same year.[4] ‡ Between the

[1] In October, 1487. *Regist. Morav.*, p. 257.

[2] *Burgh Rec. of Abdn.*, p. 67 [*where high office is designed for him on an embassy "to the Archeduk of Austrie, &c."*].

[3] *Reg. Glasg.*, p. 505.

[4] *Act. Parl.*, vol ii., p. 272. [*Also on 4th July*, 1502. "*Unpublished Exchequer Rolls.*"]

* Being the 24th Bishop of Aberdeen, *Reg. Aberd.*, p. lviii.

† Son of James, 8th Earl of Moray (Stodart, see *infra*, p. 142).

‡ Under his quill and hand at this time had passed the matrimonial contract of King James IV. with Margaret Tudor.

latter date and 24th November, 1506, he had left the Chapter of Moray, and had been installed as Archdeacon of St. Andrews, while he still held the office of Clerk of Register.[5] Among the Lords of Council at Edinburgh on the 5th of December, 1506, is "Maister Gawan Dunbar, Archidañ of St. Androis, and Clerk Registre,"[6] and he witnessed royal charters by the same style, on the 8th of May, 1509,[7] and on the 8th day of January, 1515.[8]

In the year 1519, Gawin de Dunbar, now Bishop of Aberdeèn,* ratified the statutes of William Elphinston touching the government of the choir.[9] On the 7th December of that year, he collated Thomas Hay, secretary to the Duke of Albany, to the prebend of Rothwan, on the presentation of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, patron *hac vice et in turno suo.*[10] He was again at Aberdeen in April, May, and June, 1521,[11] and on the 7th of May, 1523, he gave collation to a chaplain in the Cathedral, on the presentation of the Lord Forbes.[12] † He was present in the Parliament held at Edinburgh on the 14th of November, 1524; and in that of 22nd February, in which he was one of the Lords of the Articles.[13] ‡ For his

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 274. [*Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 5th August*, 1506. "*Crown Rentals.*"]
[6] *Regist. de Dunf.*, p. 375.
[7] *Act. Parl.*, vol. ii., p. 275-7.
[8] *Reg. Glasg.*, p. 525.
[9] *Regist. Aberd.*, vol. ii., p. 101.
[10] P. 383 of *Regist.*
[11] P. 386-7. *Burgh Rec.*, p. 562.
[12] P. 387 of *Regist.*
[13] *Act. Parl.*, vol. ii., pp. 284-288, 289.

* Bishop from 5th Nov., 1518, to 9th March, 1531-2 (Stodart).

† 1522. "A propyne" to Gavin Dunbar, p. xxi. of Preface, *Burgh Records of Aberdeen* (Sp. Cl.).

‡ Entries relating to Gavin Dunbar (I.) in *Burgh Records of Aberdeen:* 16th March, 1524 (*Burgh Rec.*, p. 107); 14th August, 1525, pp. 110-1 (on heresy of Luther); also, 1st April, 1527; 3rd June, 1527; 8th Nov., 1527, upkeep of Brig of Dee (*Burgh Rec.*, p. 116-9). He is still Clerk of Register in 1525 (*Burgh Rec.*, p. 111); and on 12th Dec., 1530, he is present at Perth as one of the Lords of Council, in which he also appears as Clerk of Register (*Burgh Rec.*, p. 139).

(II.) The following notes are from *Records of Parliament*, p. 295, &c.:

x. die Julii, 1525.

(Present) Eps. Aberdonensis (Gavin Dunbar, one of the Lords of the Articles).

xvii. die Julii, 1525.

adherence to the Regent Albany, he was imprisoned, along with the Chancellor Beaton, by the Queen Mother, in August of that year, and not liberated till October.* In November, the Secret Council appointed by the Parliament consisted of the Chancellor, the Bishop of Aberdeen, Arran, and Argyll, with the Queen Mother for chief. In January the bishops were, with Angus and the confederated lords, at St. Andrews, in defiance of the Court. In February they were again members of a council of Government, of which the Queen was the head. In that unhappy time, parties were not drawn together

Condemnation of "the dampnable opinzeouns of heresy" (Luther's name mentioned).
In Parliament, 12th June, 1526, also present, and a Lord of the Articles.
12th Nov., 1526, " "
10th May, 1527 (not present).
2nd Sept., 1528, present, and a Lord of the Articles.
No entry as to Parliament in 1529 or 1530.
In 1531, present, and for last time.
In 1532, the *Electus* [Bishop William Stewart], his successor, appears.

(III.) The following are the notices of Gavin Dunbar in the *Fasti* of the University:

I. *Before his Episcopate.*

At Edinburgh, in February [day blank], 1505, charter under Great Seal confirming a charter of Foundation by Sir Al. Boswell, witnessed, among others, by "dilecto clerico Magistro Gavino Dunbar, Archidiacono Sancti Andree, rotulorum et registri ac concilii clerico".

In Edinburgh, 11th October, 1506, he is witness to a confirmation, under Great Seal, of a charter by "Wm. Cumyng of Inverelouchy". [This Wm. Cumyng is the Lyon King of Arms, contemporary with the erection of the ceiling.]

He witnesses similarly a charter of confirmation, Edinburgh, 28th May, 1512.

II. *During his Episcopate.*

The first mention of him in the *Fasti*, after he became Bishop, occurs on 4th May, 1526, in a "Preceptum Sasine concessum per Gavinum Episcopum Aberdonensem".

He is referred to by his episcopal office, without being named, in the Bull of Clement VII., at Rome, 18th January, 1526-7.

His name occurs in the Royal confirmation of Privileges to "University, college, and city of Auld Aberdene," granted at Aberdeen by James V., 7th February, 1527. In this deed Gavin Dunbar is entered as not only "Bishop of Aberdeen," but Clerk "nostrorum rotulorum registri et concilii".

The most important of the Records relating to him in the *Fasti* is the long and voluminous Deed of 18th December, 1529, confirming the "Nova Fundatio" of the College.

The last entry in which his name appears as acting as Bishop is in a charter granting a certain piece of waste land to the College. Dated 15th November, 1531.

* See *Diurnal of Occurrents* (Bann. Cl.), pp. 9, 16. [See above, p. 34.]

Such is the outline of the incidents in the Bishop's life as gleaned by Cosmo Innes in the Preface to the *Registrum*.* Our space will not suffice to include the contemporary Life by Hector Boece, forming, as it does, the last of the Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen, composed by the First Principal of King's College. The Dedication of Boece's book is given to Gavin Dunbar, and the two together—Life and Dedication—form a fine tribute in Ciceronian Latin to the virtues of the Bishop.†

To the above we append the following succinct notice of Gavin Dunbar's life appearing in Stodart's *Scottish Arms* (vol. ii., p. 14):

"Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, fourth son of Sir Alexander of Westfield,‡ Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and Clerk Register, was provided to the See of Aberdeen by Pope Leo X., on the 5th November,

* Two letters of Gavin Dunbar, of date March 15, 1525, both signed—one to Henry VIII. and one to Card. Wolsey—are found in vol. iii. of Thorpe's *Calendar of State Papers* (Scottish Series). *Plura*, regarding these letters on p. 146 *infra*.

† In *Joannis Dunbari Epigrammata* (London, 1616) occurs (p. 17, centuria via, Epigr. xlii.) an epigram ascribing to Gavin (with whom the author claims kinship, and whom he calls *proavi sui frater*) the foundation of the Academia Aberdonensis! Epigram No. xli. is entitled, "Ejusdem, Gavini, Pons Donae" (? *Devae*), in somewhat poor Latin, and with a pun upon the name *Pontifex*: "Ostendit *verum* se fore *pontificem*". These epigrams are thus referred to by M'Kenzie:

"John Dunbar, the famous epigrammist, who flourished in the reigns of King James VI. and Charles I., made the two following Epigrams upon this prelate:—

I.

"Jam quod Aberdoniæ doctis Academia Musis
Floreat, et celsum tollat in astra caput,
Ut labor ille sui, nunc sit laus ista *Gavini*;
Hic posuit tantæ prima elementa scholæ.

II.

"Circa Aberdoniam tumidis Dona labitur undis;
Turgidus, et nullis trajiciendus equis:
Huic pontem hic Præsul fecit cum condere, numquid
Ostendit verum se fore Pontificem?"

M'Kenzie's *Lives of Scots Writers*, ii., p. 612.

‡ Son of James, eighth Earl of Moray, who was grandson of John Dunbar, fifth Earl of Moray, who was grandson of Sir Thomas Ranulph, first Earl of Moray, the nephew of Robert Bruce. Sir Alexander died 10th March, 1497-8. His effigy on his tomb in the Dunbar Aisle in the Cathedral at Elgin has "three cushions" on its breast. The Bishop could thus claim a right to use the cushions, as being the son of the great great great grandson of Sir Thomas Ranulph, first Earl of Moray. Cf. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xxii., p. 187.

1518. It was Bishop Dunbar who had the Cathedral at Aberdeen ceiled with wood, and the ceiling decorated with coats of arms.

"On an illumination in one of the Cathedral books, his arms are emblazoned between two bears; * but the Bishop does not seem either to have used or to have had right to supporters.

"He died on the 9th March 1531-2.

"His arms—three pillows within the Royal tressure—are on his seals; and, with the addition of a mitre and his initials, are on the Old Bridge of Dee, and on the canopy of his tomb over his effigy in 'Bishop Gavin Dunbar's Aisle' in the Cathedral at Aberdeen.

"The Bishop is often confused with his nephew, Gavin Dunbar, who was 'provided' to the Archbishoprick of Glasgow on the 8th of July 1524, and died on the 30th of April 1547."

The following is taken from Menteith's *Theater of Mortality* (Edinb. 1704), part ii., p. 223:

"The names of the children of Sir Alexander Dunbar, of Westfield, first Sheriff of Morray, as they are in the Dunbars' burial-place, commonly called the Dunbars' Isle, in the Northside of the Cathedral Church of Morray in Elgine:

1. Sir James Dunbar of Cumnock.
2. Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum.
3. Alex. Dunbar of Kilboyack.
4. Gavine Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen.
5. Jannet Dunbar, Lady Innerugie.
6. David Dunbar of Durrhs (Durris).
7. Mr. Patrick Dunbar, Chancellor of Aberdeen.
8. Leonard Dunbar, student in Paris.
9. ——— Dunbar, who died young."

* The Bishop's arms with the two bears will be found in the frontispiece of the *Registrum Ep. Aberd.*, as taken from the "Epistolare" of Gavin Dunbar. Another example of his coat of arms, within a G initial letter, is reproduced in *Registrum Ep. Aberd.* (vol. ii., p. 154). In the same volume (ii. of the *Registrum*, in Plate II., at close) is found the round seal of Gavin Dunbar (sigillum rotundum), also with the three cushions. It is worthy of being compared with his oval "sigillum autenticum," of which a representation faces this page. A third seal of Gavin Dunbar, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, is noted by Laing (vol. ii., p. 56), under the evidently erroneous date 1556.

Bishop Dunbar's Predilection for Heraldic Ornament.

The idiosyncrasies of individuals are frequently the enrichment c the world, and what may have been, in some instances, little bette than a foible of vainglory, may turn out to be, as so often in charitabl endowments, a source of happiness and benefit to mankind. Such ha been the case with the tasteful predilections of Gavin Dunbar, and fev among our old Scottish worthies can be named who have done mor to delight the eye and mind of posterity by his fondness for heraldi decorations.

The extent to which he indulged himself in the exhibition of hi own heraldic blazoning may appear from the following enumeration The list is one that reckons up the various coats of arms, attributabl to and representative of the Bishop, which, after the lapse of nearl four centuries, are still visible in Aberdeen or its vicinity.

Coats of Arms of Bishop Gavin Dunbar at and around Aberdeen.

Description.	Place.	
Carved wood—painted.	On the ceiling of the Cathedral, - - -	1
Freestone.	On the two towers of the Cathedral, - - (on S.W. corner of North Tower; and on S.E. corner of South Tower.)	2
Freestone.	On Bishop Gavin Dunbar's tomb, with motto on scroll, "sub [spe]," and initials, G. D., above, - - - - - - - -	1
Freestone.	On house S.E. of Cathedral (chaplainry), -	1
Freestone.	In King's College Quadrangle (modern), -	1
Freestone.	Old Market Cross of Old Aberdeen, - -	1
Coloured drawings.*	In MS., *Epistolare*, in King's College Library,	2
Impressions of seals.	Appended to Charters, - - - - - (1 as Archdeacon and 2 as Bishop.)	3
Stone.	On the Bridge of Dee, - - - - -	8
	Total, - - - - -	‡ 20

* In Univ. Library Catalogue, D² 3.40.

‡ For this minute information in regard to Bishop Gavin Dunbar's coats of arms we are indebted to A. H. Dunbar, Esq., younger of Northfield, who is descended in the male line from Alexander Dunbar, the immediate elder brother of the Bishop.

The coat of arms of Gavin Dunbar which is found on the old Market Cross of Old Aberdeen,* is now in the Archæological Museum in King's College. Doubtless his arms also appeared † over the door of his Hospital for twelve poor men, at the west of the Cathedral; and his shield is said to have been upon the Bishop's Palace, which stood due east of the Cathedral. These two last mentioned shields have either perished, or, perhaps, may be among those still existing, utilised in more recent buildings. ‡

In a recent article on Hector Boece, in the periodical called *The Scottish Church* (No. 12, vol. ii.), reference is made to an alleged discord between the first Principal and his Chancellor on the subject of the extent to which Dunbar's heraldic shield should be introduced into the College Buildings then progressing. The allegation is that Boece objected to Gavin introducing so largely his own shield into Elphinston's College, and that Dunbar, becoming displeased, caused the work to be huddled up without the artistic finish which he intended. The only authority for the story known to us is the notice in Orem § (*Old Aberdeen*, p. 304, Edition, 1830), who, however, living 200 years later, can hardly be accepted as sufficient voucher for a story devoid of any contemporary evidence and strangely discordant with the panegyric of Dunbar in Boece's *Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen*.

It is worth noting that the Lyon King of Arms contemporary with Bishop Gavin Dunbar belonged to the Bishop's diocese, viz., Sir William Cumyng of Inverallochy (in Buchan), Lyon King A.D.

* See Orem's "Old Aberdeen," p. 188, where, besides Dunbar's arms, mention is made of the arms of the King of Scotland and of Bishops Stewart and Gordon, as figured on the Market Cross. On the arms of his nephew, Gavin the Archbishop, see *Her. and Gen.*, vii., p. 40.

† See Kennedy's *Annals*, ii., p. 316.

‡ In the records—unfortunately only records—of the internal ornaments and vestments given to the Cathedral by this munificent Bishop, we are not surprised to find evidence of armorial decoration appearing even in the perishable furnishings of the Church of St. Machar. In the List of Gifts by Bishop Dunbar found in *Registrum*, ii. 192-3, mention is made *five times*, in describing the texture and uses of the various objects, that they were "cum armis dicti Domini Episcopi". On p. 196 of the same volume occurs an entry in the vernacular to a similar effect: "Ane banquhoir of tanne veluet, contenand sax ell Flemis, vith Bischeip Gauinis armis in V places".

§ Orem is the "scribe" who wrote the deed of Walter Ogilvy of Redhythe, 1678 (*Fasti Aberd.*, p. 182.)

1518.* Although nothing beyond a mere incidental trace (see p. 139 *n.*) has yet been found associating the two or indicating any mutual acquaintance, there is little doubt that the Lyon King of the day was among the entourage surrounding the Bishop, and may have countenanced or sanctioned the heraldic display in the Cathedral roof.

Tradition has it that "the work of the ceiling was performed by James Winter, from Angus, a lasting monument of his genius as a mechanic and artist".†

Bishop Dunbar's Love of Architecture.

Hardly less notable than his passion for Heraldry was his fondness for Architecture, in regard to which, if we may follow the facetious Thomas Fuller, in a like case, we may style him the '*edifying* Bishop'. If we except Bishop Elphinston, it may be doubted if any single benefactor of Bon-Accord has left so many, and so characteristic, ornaments, even after the sore ravages of time, enriching the architecture of the two cities. To these we can at present only allude, taking as our text the interesting enumeration given in a Graduation Address published exactly a century after Dunbar's death.

In the *Panegyricus Inauguralis*, by Andrew Strachan, Regent or Professor, 1629 (Raban, Aberdeen, 1631), mention is made (pp. 14-15) of three of Gavin Dunbar's architectural works. Those specified are:

1. Fanum Fratrum Franciscanorum Næabredonense (*i.e.*, The Grey Friars' Church, the sole Pre-Reformation Church now existing in Aberdeen).

2. *Ptochodochium* ‡ amplum et accommodum in Veteri Aberdonia (in quo) xii. egeni aluntur (Bede-House for twelve poor men).

3. S. Macarii basilicam, *βασιλικῶς*, ædificiorum novorum arte maxima elaboratorum accessione, veterum etiam instauratione, exornavit.

* Seton's *Scottish Heraldry*, p. 478.

† Kennedy's *Annals of Aberdeen*.

‡ For Deeds as to this Foundation or Bede-House, see *Registr. Ep. Aberd.*, i. pp. 399-406.

*** The two letters of Gavin Dunbar referred to in note on p. 142 occur in Brewer's *Calendar*, vol. iv., as Nos. 1191-2. That to Henry VIII. is signed "be youre oratoure and chaplane, Byshop of Ab'den". It is spotted with damp and damaged. The other to Wolsey, of same date, is in good condition and is signed "Mandatarius Ab'donen". This last is printed in full in the Quarto Edition of the *State Papers*, vol. iv., p. 342. No seals, these having been lost.

APPENDIX II.

Arms of Our Saviour, anciently in St. Machar's Cathedral.

It is singular that the heraldic impulse aspired beyond even the dignities of *earthly* grandeur, and sought to glorify the Kingdom of Christ with the ascription of arms. Nowhere does this impulse appear to have manifested itself more notably than in the shire and city of Aberdeen.

In Spalding's *History* occurs the following (i., p. 313, Sp. Cl. Ed.), among the incidents of the "Troubles," anno 1640:

"Thairefter thay [Committee of Covenant] cam all ryding up the get, cam to Maucher kirk, ordanit our blissit Lord Jesus Christ his armes to be hewin out of the foirfroont of the pulpit thairof. . . . He (maister of Forbes) causit ane mesoun strik out Christis armes in hewin wark, on ilk end of bischop Gawin Dumbaris tomb.* . . ."

What the arrangement of the arms in these two, or rather three, instances had been, we may, perhaps, conceive alternatively: Either, first, as an analogon to the singular blazon of Prester (or Presbyter) John, as shown in Sir David Lindsay's Heraldic MS.,† or secondly, as the not unfrequent adumbration or shadowing forth of armorials to

* At the finials terminating the curve of the arch are still noticeable two small shields, each with a cherub behind displaying the shield. The disks of these shields, which are, from whatever cause, blurred and obscure, are certainly the relics of this mutilation, for in the one to the west, on the right of the spectator, there is perceptible the heart with traces of the other appendages belonging to a well-known emblematic form of the Sacred Arms.

† This shield of Prester John is thus blazoned in a careful note furnished in his own hand by the late worthy John Cruickshank:—"*Or*, on a Cross of the Passion *azure*, rising out of a mount *vert* and between two scourges paleways *of the second* cords outwards *gules*, the dead body of Our Saviour *proper*, nimbed of the *field* and wreathed about the loins with a cloth *argent* shadowed *azure;* on His head the Crown of Thorns, the Blood flowing therefrom, and from the Wound in the dexter side, and from the hands and feet which are pierced with the Nails, *all proper;* on the upper limb of the Cross the Scroll *argent*, lettered INRI *sable*".

our Lord, found in such a group of emblems representing the F Wounds upon the Cross, as this: "A man's Heart, between t Hands expanded and wounded, and as many Feet, trunked at t ancle, and wounded in the like manner; all placed saltire-wa and proper" (Boss of Stone in groined roof of Divinity Schoc Oxford, as described in Wood's *Oxford*, ii., p. 786).

A similar boss of stone, with precisely the same emblems, occu in an oratory in Towie Castle, Auchterless, Aberdeenshire. An scription round this boss is believed to read, "Fit vitæ dono Domin domo oracionis". In the old castle of Gight, which belonged to Lc Byron's ancestors, a boss of stone is reported to occur with a simil group of emblems. A painting of the emblems is found on a wall one of the rooms in Sir George Skene's house in the Guestro Aberdeen, now the Victoria Lodging House.*

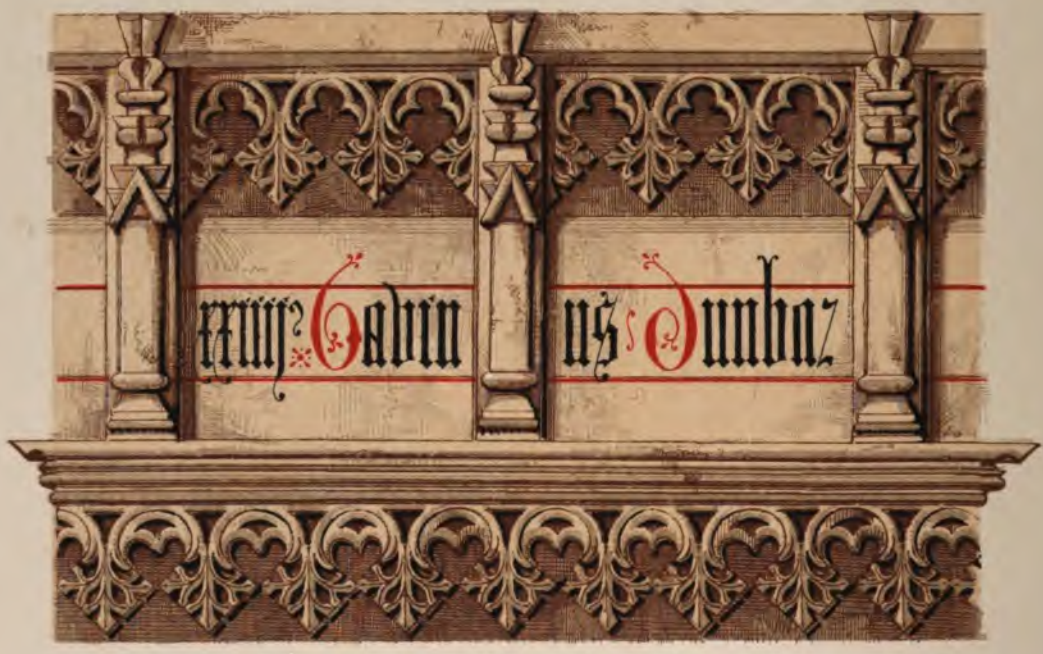
In the Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historic MSS.,† p. 201, it is stated that there is in Blairs College: "A vellu Roll, written in the 14th century, containing a Poem on the Instr ments of the Passion of our Blessed Lord, or, as they are sometim called, *the ARMS of Christ*". The concluding lines are thus give

> These armes of Christ, bothe God and man,
> Seint Peter the pope descrivyed hem (= *them*);
> What man these armis overseeth (= *despiseth*),
> For here (*i.e.*, *their*) sinnes sori and schrive beth.
> (*i.e.*, *there will be sorrow and peniten*

The following is a quaint *morceau*, showing how medieval fan interwove itself among the solemnities of religion: "Ther is gentylman, a churle sone, a preste to be made, and that is a spiritu gentylman to god and not of blode. But if a gentylmannys sone made preste, he is a gentilman both spirituall and temporall. Cris was a gentylman of his moder be halve, and bare cote armure annseturis" [ancestors].—"The Boke of St. Albans," date of M 1486 (p. 73 of *Bodleian Heraldic Miscellanies*).

* In the *Archæological Journal*, xvii. 68, is a notice of a pilgrim's badge in the form o leaden *ampulla* or small bottle, on one side of which "appears an escutcheon of the symb of our Lord's Passion ensigned with a crown, over which is the monogram, IHS".—Amo the shields on the groined roof of the Chapter House in the Cathedral at Elgin, is one whi answers to the same description.

† Mr. James Moir, Rector of the Aberdeen Grammar School, has furnished this referen



PORTION OF FRIEZE ROUND CEILING OF CATHEDRAL.

APPENDIX III.

Inscriptions round the Frieze of Ceiling.

*** *The following is the List of Bishops of Aberdeen and Kings of Scotland in the Inscription round the Frieze of Nave. This Inscription is in Saxon letter, mostly black, but, in the case of the christian names and some catch words, with red initials.*

North Side.

Primus huj^{9} ecclīe pontifex Nectanus ij^{9} Eduardus iij^{9} Matheus kȳinmond iiii^{9} Iohānes pr̄or de calco v^{9} Adā cl̄icus regis Willi vi^{9} Gilbertus striuelin vii^{9} Radulphus lambley viii^{9} Petrus ramsay ix^{9} Richardus pottocht * x^{9} Hugo benhame xi^{9} Henricus cheine xii^{9} Alexander de kȳinmund xiii^{9} Willm̄s de la deyne xiiii^{9} Johānes de raite xv^{9} Alexander kȳinmond xvi^{9} Adā tȳinghame xvii^{9} Gilbertus greynlaw xviii^{9} Henric^{9} lychtoñ xix^{9} Ingeram^{9} lyndesay xx^{9} Thomas spnes [*sic*] xxi^{9} Robertus bleicater xxii^{9} Willm̄s elphynstoñ Vniuersitatis et collegii cōditor xxiii^{9} Alexander Gordon xxiiii^{9} Gavinus Dunbar † xxv^{9} Willm̄s Stuart xxvi^{9} Willm̄s gordon

South Side.

Murchtlakeeñ et aberdoneñ eccliās cathedrales respectiue condidere Pro quibus in hac sacra ede fundati obligātur orare p̄^{9} Macolm^{9} kēnedi qui m̄rchtlakeeñ eccl̄iām p̄^{9} instituit anno mil° quarto Cui successit Dūcanus Cui Macolm^{9} cāmoir āno m°lvi^{to} Cui Edgarus Cui Alexander Cui Dauid S̄tus āno m°c°xxiiij qui m̄rchtlakeeñ eccl̄iam ad aberdoniam tn̄stulit Cui Macolmus V̄go Cui Willm̄s Cui

* Potton (in Keith's Catalogue), Poiton (Cosmo Innes, in Preface to *Registrum Ep. Ab.*).

† In the *Catalogus Episcoporum* at end of Boece's "Episcoporum Vitæ," Gavin Dunbar is xxvth. (A Matthæus is there inserted as vith, between Bishops Adam and Gilbert).

Alexander^{9} ii^{9} Cui Alexander 3^{9} Cui Robertus Bruce anno m°cc° Nōge° vi° Cui Dauid bruce Cui Robert^{9} ij^{9} Cui Robert^{9} 3^{9} Cui Jacob^{9} j^{9} Cui Jacob^{9} ij^{9} Cui Jacobus 3^{9} Cui Jacobus iiij^{9} Cui Jacobus v^{9} cui Maria Regiña

In 1867 the following was added:

✠ Hoc lacunar a Gavino ep̄o a d m°d°xx Exstruct a d m°d°ccclxvii refect est ✠ *

* Appended is a translation of the Inscription.

" The first Bishop (Pontiff) of this Church was Nectan, the 2nd Edward, the 3rd Mathew Kyninmond, 4th John, Prior of Kelso, 5th Adam, Clerk of King William, 6th Gilbert Stirling, 7th Ralph Lambley, 8th Peter Ramsay, 9th Richard Potocht, 10th Hugh Benholm, 11th Henry Cheine, 12th Alexander de Kyninmond, 13th William de la Deyne, 14th John de Raite, 15th Alexander Kyninmond, 16th Adam Tyninghame, 17th Gilbert Greynlaw, 18th Henry Lichtoun, 19th Ingeram Lyndesay, 20th Thomas Spens, 21st Robert Blacater, 22nd William Elphinstoun, Founder of the University and the College, 23rd Alexander Gordon, 24th Gavin Dunbar, 25th William Stuart, 26th William Gordon.

" The cathedral churches of Mortlach and Aberdeen were respectively founded by these, for whom those appointed under endowment in this sacred building are bound to pray. First, Malcolm, son of Kenneth, who was the first to establish the church of Mortlach in the year 1004, to whom succeeded Duncan, to whom Malcolm Canmore in the year 1056, to whom Edgar, to whom Alexander, to whom David the Saint in the year 1124, who transferred the church of Mortlach to Aberdeen, to whom (succeeded) Malcolm the Maiden, to whom William, to whom Alexander II., to whom Alexander III., to whom Robert Bruce in the year 1296, to whom David Bruce, to whom Robert II., to whom Robert III., to whom James I., to whom James II., to whom James III., to whom James IV.. to whom James V., to whom Queen Mary (succeeded).

" This ceiling, erected by Bishop Gavin in A.D. 1520, was restored A.D. 1867."

*** In the above list of Kings, it is notable that John Balliol is not admitted into the array, and that the reign of Robert Bruce is assumed as beginning in 1296.

APPENDIX IV.

Notes as to Similar Heraldic Displays.

Among Continental countries, it is to Spain, the land of Grandees and Hidalgos, that we may naturally look for examples of the closest connection between heraldry and architecture. There we find the alliance at the maximum in frequency and also in brilliancy. It is remarked, accordingly, of the Chapel of the Kings at Granada, that it is a shrine "elaborately inwrought with emblems of heraldic pride and religious humility". At Salamanca, the façade of the library is a study to any architect: it is the triumph of the decorative and heraldic style, with medallions and badges interworked with scrolls. So at Toledo, in the Franciscan convent, San Juan de los Reyes, we are called to observe "the abundance of heraldic ornament — shields, eagles, badges, ciphers, and coronets, and fringing inscriptions" (Ford's *Spain*, p. 485).

Our limits, however, compel us to confine our attention to Great Britain.

The employment of stone bosses for carving coats of arms is found very frequently exemplified, and such a mode of decoration is a characteristic feature of both castle and cathedral ornament in Plantagenet and post-Plantagenet times.

In the Cathedral of Canterbury the maximum of enrichment by means of such a style has been obtained, as the volume of Thomas Willement dealing with the heraldic *bosses* of that cathedral will sufficiently demonstrate.* It is, however, not so much among the buildings with stone vaults, as among those with *wooden* ceilings, that we may fairly look for any proper parallels in heraldic decoration, and among such may be named:

* *Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral*; Lond., 1827. Foremost among *Scottish* examples of heraldic decoration in *stone* was probably Lincluden, in Dumfries, enriched with the arms of the early or Black Douglases in great variety of form. See Grose's *Antiquities* (ii., pp. 174-5).

I. In England.

1. The Savoy Chapel, Strand, London.

This roof is rich in blazonry, beginning about the period of John of Gaunt, and representing the Royal Family of England subsequent to that Prince. It seems a display entirely English, insular, and domestic. Moreover, the blazon, though elaborate and interesting, is not by carved bosses, but simply by painting the devices on the centre of flat pannels.

2. St. George's Hall and St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

In regard to these two heraldic centres, we have pleasure in quoting the terms of a letter from the librarian of Windsor Palace, in which he courteously gives the following details as to the heraldic decorations there existing:

"In answer to inquiries, I note:

"(1) The armorial bearings of the Knights of the Garter are painted on shields raised on the pannels; the bosses are carved and painted with *badges*, &c., of the Order.

"(2) The shields are arranged in chronological sequence from the foundation of the Order.

"(3) The only foreign coats are of members of the Order.

"(4) The principal difference between the ceilings of St. George's Hall and St. George's Chapel is that in the latter the bosses are carved with badges of knights instead of arms. They are described in Willement's *Heraldry of St. George's Chapel.* They are in stone. All carving in Windsor Chapel and Castle has reference to the Order of the Garter. There is, therefore, no parallelism between it and the very curious carving at Aberdeen, *to which I know nothing exactly similar*" (from Letter of Librarian, Windsor Castle, of date 16th May, 1888).

3. Divinity Schools, Oxford.

Hardly less elaborate is the series of armorial bosses (nearly a hundred) in the groined roof of the Divinity Schools of Oxford (already alluded to, p. 13), constructed about A.D. 1480. They are fully, but not completely, described in Wood's *Oxford*, ii., pp. 783-6; but it is to be remarked that (1) they are entirely English; (2) they present an indefinite multiplication, repeating the same arms; and (3) as arranged in Wood's enumeration, exhibit no discernible gradation or distribution.

4. St. Alban's Cathedral, Hertfordshire.

In this church, formerly the church of the great Abbey of St. Alban, there remains an heraldic display representing Western Christendom, which is the only one, known to the writer, comparable, to a certain extent, in importance to that of St. Machar's Church in Old Aberdeen.

The magnificent monument of ecclesiastical power and grandeur, which now crowns the hill of St. Alban's, dates back to Norman times, and even in its materials is of an antiquity going beyond the Conquest, as far as the Roman period. The bricks of the Roman town of Verulam are, by their shape and size and colour, still recognisable in the oldest portions of the structure of the Cathedral.

The date of the decorated ceiling, which is 40 feet wide, is believed to be the time when the abbey was held by John of Wheathampsted, 33rd abbot, about 1440.

The treatment of this wooden ceiling may be understood from the following short outline.

The beautiful frontispiece of Neale's work on St. Alban's (1877), exhibiting, as a specimen, the second shield, namely, that of St. Alban, supplies an idea of the style of decoration, which is nearly as follows:

In a square pannel with red ground, there is represented in the centre the shield of the Abbey arms, which shield is supported by an angel* with wings, holding this shield in front, with an inscription, indicating *Scutum Sancti Albani Martyris*. The angel and shield are both contained within a green wreath, all *painted* on the under surface of the pannel.

The same treatment, *mutatis mutandis*, recurs in the whole series of shields.

The following is the list of shields as given by the Rev. C. Boutell in his paper on "The Early Heraldry of the Abbey Church of St. Alban," in vol. xxxiv. of *Journal of Archæological Association* for 1878:

1. "Scutum S'ci Edmundi regis." Azure, three open crowns or.
2. "Scutū S'ci Albani martyris." Azure, a saltire or.

* "Each shield is held by an angel, above whose head is a scroll inscribed with a brief text or some pious ejaculation, or some declaration of faith, while below each shield a corresponding scroll sets forth to whom the armorial blazon belongs" (Boutell). The device of an angel holding up the shield is no doubt beautiful, but it is apt to get monotonous in a series of forty shields.

3. "Scutū S'ci Off' mercii regis." Gules, three open crowns or.
4. "Scutum S'ci Georgii." Argent, a cross, gules.
5. "Scutum S'ci Edwardi regis."* Azure, between five martlets, a cross fleurie or.
6. "Scutū S'ci Lodrici (*sic*) regis Fra."† Azure, three fleurs-de-lys two and one, or.
7. "Scutum Imperatoris Romano." Argent, an eagle with two heads, displayed sable.
8. "Scutū."‡
9. "Scutū Imperatoris Constantino." Gules, a cross moline or, cantoning four bezants, each charged with a plain cross of the field.
10. "Scutū regis Hispanie." Quarterly, Castile and Leon.
11. "Scutū regis Anglie." Quarterly, England and France ancient.
12. "Scutū regis Portugaul." Within a bordure of Castile, gules, charged with eight castles or,§ argent, three escutcheons azure, each charged with six plates, two two and two.
13. "Scutum regis Sardie." Azure, three men's heads bearded, affronté ppr., crowned or.
14. "Scutum regis Cyprie." Argent, three bars azure, over all a lion rampant gules, crowned and collared or.
15. "Scutum regis de Man." Gules, three human legs couped at the thigh, conjoined in triangle argent.
16. "Scutum fidei." Gules, the device emblematic of the Holy Trinity.
17. "Scutum Saluationis." Shield charged with emblems of the Passion.
18. "Scutum regis Arragon." Paly of eight or and gules.
19. "Scutū regis Iherusalem." Argent, a cross potent between four plain crosses or.
20. "Scutū regis Danie." Or, three lions passant in pale azure.
21. "Scutū ducis Bretaign." Ermine.
22. "Scutum regis Boemie." Quarterly, one and four, an eagle

* The Confessor. † Francorum. ‡ Blank, or not described.
§ This blazon seems somewhat tautological.

with one head displayed sable; two and three, argent a lion rampant, queue fourchée gules. (Shield and supporters in a circle.)

23. "Scutum d'ni thome filii regis." Quarterly, England and France ancient; a label of three points; the whole within a bordure. (Shield and supporters in a circle.)
24. "Scutū regis Cicilie." France ancient, with a label gules.
25. "Scutū regis Hungari." Barrulée argent and gules.
26. "Scutum regis Francie." Azure, semée de lys or.
27. "Scutū ducis Lancastrie." Quarterly, England and France ancient; a label of three points ermine.
28. "Scutum He'r'ci pi's [Henrici principis] Wallie." Quarterly, England and France ancient; a label of three points argent.
29. "Scutum duci' Eboraci." Quarterly, England and France ancient; a label of three points argent, charged on each point with as many torteaux.
30. "Scutum regis Norwa." Argent, a lion rampant gules, holding in his paws a battle-axe.
31. "Scutum regis Nau[arr]e." Gules, an escarbuncle or.
32. "Scutum regis Scotie." Or, a lion rampant within a double tressure gules.

The above heraldic display at St. Alban's differs from that of Aberdeen—(1) in being Pictorial, by painting on flat pannel, and not Glyptic, by carving in relief; (2) in being mainly Regal, and only allegorically Ecclesiastical; (3) in the want of any clear systematic order, exhibiting the "Powers" in any relative gradation.

On the contrary, at Aberdeen, the images are solid figures of what might pass as real shields; such, indeed, as in moving through the armoury of an ancient hall, one could suppose detachable by the warrior or wearer of them from the bosses from which they depend; not mere painted images and ocular illusions. On these accounts the palm of artistic and historic interest must be awarded to the heraldic display of the northern city.

II. In Scotland.

Our limits do not allow detailed reference to such distant analogies as the "Lacunar Striveliense," to which we alluded in the Introduction, or to the roofs* of Craigston Castle (Aberdeenshire) and Muchalls Castle (Kincardineshire), "enriched, not with heraldic shields, but with effigies of heroes, kings, virtues, evangelists," in the case of the former, and with "medallion portraits in delicate white pargetted plaster work" in the latter. Neither do we recognise any proper parallel to the decoration adorning the Aberdeen Cathedral, even in the beautiful pargetted roof of the hall of Glammis Castle, where shields *and* heads occur *together*.

Some analogies less remote may, however, be found in the following:

1. In Church of Marykirk (Kincardineshire), the old aisle, called the Thornton Aisle, had heraldic ceiling in colours and gold (Charles Farquhar Shand's *Funerals of Bishop Patrick Forbes*, p. xxvii.).

2. The apartment in Holyrood, called "Queen Mary's Audience Chamber".

A specimen of decorative art, by carving in oak, of 16th century.

The shields, in this instance, are in *centre* of pannels, not, as in Old Aberdeen, at the intersection, except in the case of the central shield, which is in honour of Mary of Lorraine (Queen of James V.).

The following shows the order of arrangement:

Shield of France, H. R., *i.e.*, Henri II. Shield of Scotland, J. R., *i.e.*, James V.

Shield of Mary of Lorraine.

Shield of F. D., *i.e.*, Francis, Dauphin, Son of Henri II. Shield of M. R., *i.e.*, Mary Queen of Scots.

The date of its erection must be about 1558. Henri II. of France died on July 10th, 1559, and so Francis ceased to be Dauphin ("Plura," in Henry Laing's interesting notice, *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. vii., p. 381).

3. Linlithgow heraldic painted ceiling (discovered in a house in High Street, Linlithgow).

* See Billings' *Antiquities of Scotland*. Not the least beautiful among these heraldic ceilings in Scotland is said to be that of Earlshall in Fife.

The shields of thirty-seven Temporal Peers of Scotland were there exhibited, viz., fifteen Barons and twenty-two Earls.

Details in Notice by T. Etherington Cooke, F.S.A. Scot. (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol vii., p. 409).

The date of the Linlithgow blazon is before the creation of Marquisates in 1599, and before the creation of Dukedoms other than those of the Blood Royal. Except for its antiquity, there is no particular interest in this heraldic display, as no clear trace of any plan of arrangement or principle of classification is discernible.

4. In the old building of Marischal College, Aberdeen, there existed an heraldic ceiling of some significance, but of which unfortunately there remains only scanty record. It appears to have been in some respects an imitation of the heraldic roof of St. Machar. Our knowledge of it, however, depends entirely on the notes in Professor Knight's MS. volumes in the University Library; and on a coloured drawing of the ceiling, executed in 1833, by Mr. A. Dingwall Fordyce, now of Fergus, Ontario, who has obligingly presented the drawing to the New Spalding Club.

The Marischal College ceiling comprised thirty shields on pannels, in three rows. The centre row included arms of the Founder and five Benefactors; each of the other rows had six *pairs*—the east row having twelve Benefactors in pairs, the west row having the first eight Principals and four Benefactors, also in pairs. The eight early Principals of the College thus commemorated bore the names of Howie, Gray, Aedie, Forbes, Dun, Moir, Leslie, Paterson.* The latest Benefactor commemorated was John Turner, who founded a Bursary in 1688.† This heraldic roof was erected circa 1682-9 in the "Principal's Chamer" in the time of Robert Paterson, eighth Principal, and when this part of the College was taken down in 1790, the ceiling was removed to the Public School, where it remained till the demolition of the old building, about the year 1837, when unfortunately it was destroyed, or at least disappeared.

* It is almost certain that this ceiling was erected not only in the time of, but by the exertions of Robert Paterson, eighth Principal (1678-1717), to whose energy the repairs begun in 1682 were due, and who seems to have had a liking for heraldry, if we may judge by his arms in stone in the Marischal College Library.

† In the Procuratory Accounts (Mar. Coll.) of 1688-89, there is an entry, "Item for putting up Tourner's Arms in the Colledge, £3".

5. The Council Chamber or Town Hall of Aberdeen in the New Municipal Buildings contains a series of shields more or less noteworthy. They are placed, however, on the flat surface of the pannels, and not, as is the case in the ceiling of the Cathedral, at the intersections. The whole display in this case, though fairly effective, is too modern, and at present too incomplete, for us meantime to criticise.

HERALDIC WINDOWS.

Of kindred effect and purpose are the heraldic windows, which, though rare in Scotland,* are not unfrequent in England, as, *e.g.*, that in Lincoln's Inn Chapel, London, with the arms of the leading Benchers in former times, and in the Colleges of Cambridge, in such as the Hall of Trinity College.† The arrangement, however, in such as these can hardly be said to rise above mere aggregation.

It is possible that among the varied wealth of the richer and more splendid ecclesiastical architecture of England, the writer may, from want of sufficient information, do injustice to her treasures, but he finds nothing in the shape of a heraldic window belonging to that country that presents any analogy to our heraldic ceiling in scope and breadth of conception, except the interesting window in the Cathedral of York.

The following gives the series and relative arrangement of historic shields appearing in this heraldic window of York Cathedral:

1. St. Peter, the patron of the Cathedral: Gules, two keys saltierwise or.
2. The Emperor: Or, a double-headed eagle displayed sable, armed gules.
3. England: Gules, three lions passant gardant in pale or.
4. France: Azure, semy of lys or.
5. Provence or Arragon: Paly of six or and gules.

* An almost solitary Scottish example of a heraldic window, though on a small scale, is that in St. Magdalene's Chapel, Cowgate, Edinburgh, of which an account is given with full details by George Seton, Esq., Advocate, in *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* (vol. xxi., p. 266). There are four escutcheons in this window, containing the arms of—1. Mary of Lorraine, widow of James V. and Queen Regent; 2. Scotland; 3. Michael Macquhen, Burgess of Edinburgh, and 4. Janet Rynd his wife, impaled with those of her husband.

† At Oxford, we cannot omit, as possessing notable heraldic windows, the Divinity Schools. Compare Wood's *Oxford*, with the *Enumeration of the Shields* (all of them English), vol. ii., pp. 781-2.

6. King of the Romans: Or, an eagle displayed sable armed gules.
7. Castile and Leon: Quarterly, first and fourth gules, a castle or; second and third argent, a lion rampant purpure.
8. Jerusalem: Argent, a cross potent between seven cross crosslets or.
9. Navarre: Gules, an escarbuncle or.

Here the Church, represented by the Patron Saint, has marked precedence, coming in the front and alone, while the Emperor is brought *into line* with kings of France and England. Scotland, though acknowledged at St. Alban's, is here ignored, strange to say, in the Cathedral which once claimed to exercise Primacy over it and to be its Metropolitan.

The date of the armorial window in York is attributed to the year 1307 (*Archæological Journal*, xvii. 22), and as this was the crisis of the Independence struggle, it seems probable that 'Scotia' as a nationality was of set purpose unacknowledged.

From the *Herald and Genealogist* we subjoin a few notes, with which we conclude—minor entries bearing on the subject that deserve enumeration and offer clues of enquiry to the antiquary.

1. Heraldic Windows, as described by Dodsworth, 1620, in Swillington Church in Airedale, Leeds, are chiefly English, but with (among others non-English) "Arma Regis Scotiae" (*Her. and Gen.*, iv., p. 234-6).
2. The Rev. John Woodward's article (*Her. and Gen.*, iv., p. 289) on the Heraldry of Bristol Cathedral, is a valuable and complete account of the shields of arms appearing "in the stained-glass windows, the masonry, the stall-work, and the monumental tablets" of that Cathedral.
3. Two Shields and four Crests upon Shields occur in roof of Brooke House, Hackney, London (*Her. and Gen.*, iv., p. 392-3).
4. The work of the late J. Gough Nichols on "The Armorial Windows erected in the reign of Henry VI. in Woodhouse Chapel, Leicestershire . . . Privately Printed, 1860" (full title given in *Her. and Gen.*, vii., p. xxv.).

"IN THIS OPEN COURT
WHICH NOW LIES NAKED TO THE INJURIES
OF STORMY WEATHER, SOME MEN LIE INTERRED WHO
LOVED THE CHURCH SO WELL, AND GAVE SO LARGELY TO IT,
THEY THOUGHT IT SHOULD HAVE CANOPIED THEIR BONES
TILL DOOMSDAY: BUT ALL THINGS HAVE THEIR END."

(OLD PLAY.)

Also the following incidental Notes on subjects touched on in this volume:

5. On the origin of the Arms of the Confessor, suggested by the device on one of his Coins with a cross between four birds (*Her. and Gen.*, vi., p. 85 and 164).
6. On the descent of Lord Byron and the Gordons of Gight (*Her. and Gen.*, vi., p. 597).
7. On the relation of the Fleurs-de-lis of France to Toads (crapaud) and on the double-headed Eagle of the Emperor (*Her. and Gen.*, vii., p. 339).

I pray you, let us satisfy our eyes
With the memorials and the things of fame
That do renown this city.

—SHAKSP., *Twelfth Night*, (iii. 3).

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WHICH NOW LIES NAKED TO THE INJURIES
OF STORMY WEATHER. SOME MEN LIE INTERRED WHO
LOVED THE CHURCH SO WELL, AND GAVE SO LARGELY TO IT,
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OLD PLAY.

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THE ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY PRESS.

New Spalding Club.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

1888.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL, 27th OCTOBER, 1887.

That the following gentlemen be appointed a Committee, to be called "The Business Committee": with power to add to their number: three to be a quorum. *Mr. Ferguson*, Convener; *Dr. Francis Edmond*, *Rev. Dr. Gammack*, *Principal Geddes*, *Mr. Alexander Walker*, *Mr. George Walker*, *Dr. Webster*, *Dr. J. F. White*; the Conveners of the other Committees; the Secretary and the Treasurer. [*Mr. A. W. Robertson*, added 21st February, 1888.] The Business Committee will take the management of the finance and general business of the Club, and will receive and deal with the Reports of the other Committees, through which will be conveyed to it offers of works or materials for works which are made to the Society. These it will refer to the Editorial Committee for consideration and report. It will, further, make all arrangements for illustrating, printing, and distributing the works that are decided on by the Editorial Committee as to be issued by the Club. It will fix the amount of remuneration to be allowed to editors and others, and will direct, through the Treasurer and the Secretary, the expenditure and affairs of the Society generally.

That the following gentlemen be appointed a Committee, to be called "The Editorial Committee": with power, &c., as above. *Mr. Dalrymple*, Convener; *Dr. Alexander*, *Principal Geddes*, *Dr. Grub*, *Mr. Moir*; the Secretary. The Editorial Committee will consider the works that will be referred to it by the Business Committee, and decide on which of these are to be issued by the Club. It will select the Editors, will regulate the literary details connected with their work, and will select the illustrations to be inserted. It will communicate with the Business Committee, reporting its decisions, and acting in concert with that

[illegible]

That the following gentlemen be appointed a Committee, to be called "The [illegible] History Committee," to investigate [illegible] records within the North-Eastern Counties of Scotland [illegible], with directions to report to the [illegible] Committee [illegible], with power, &c., as [illegible] Convener; [illegible] Mr. Ferguson, [illegible] the Treasurer.

That the following gentlemen be appointed a Committee, to be called "The Burgh Records Committee," to investigate municipal, judicial, and commercial records of the N. E. Counties, with directions, &c., as above: *Mr. Cra* [illegible] *Mr.* [illegible] *Mr.* [illegible] *Sheriff* [illegible] *Wilson*.

That the following gentlemen be appointed a Committee, to be called "The Church Records Committee," to investigate ecclesiastical and educational records of the N. E. Cou[nties] and the records of Scottish educational institutions at [illegible] and abroad, with directions, &c., as above: *Mr. J*[illegible] Convener; *Rev. Mr. Cooper, Mr. Cramond, Mr. J*[illegible] *Edmond, Rev. Dr. Gammack, Principal Geddes, Rev.* [illegible] *Gregor, Dr. Grub, Major Ramsay, Mr. Robert Wa*[illegible] *Bishop Douglas, Sheriff Rampini*, added 10th Dec., 1[illegible]

That the following gentlemen be appointed a Committee, t[o be] called "The Archæology Committee," to investigate place-names, folk-lore, and general topography and arc[hæo]logy of the N. E. Counties: with directions, &c., as al[bove]: *Rev. Dr. Gregor*, Convener; *Dr. Alexander, Mr. Cro*[illegible] *Mr. Ferguson, Colonel Ross King, Rev. Mr. Mickie*, [illegible] *Moir, Mr. Robertson, Rev. Mr. Temple.*

THIRD REPORT BY THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

(Presented at the Meeting of the Business Committee on Tuesday, 15th May, 1888.)

THE Editorial Committee have the pleasure of presenting to the Business Committee the following Supplementary Statement relative to works in progress, or in contemplation, as future issues by the Club; and to some slight alterations which it has been found desirable to make in the matter of illustrations.

Mr. John F. White, LL.D., a member of our Council, has succeeded in obtaining the services of Mr. George Reid, R.S.A., in connection with the Chartulary of St. Nicholas. Mr. Reid has executed drawings of Drum's Aisle, and of Provost Davidson's Monumental Effigy, which, as Frontispiece and Tailpiece, will render the volume more attractive, and will also give a standing proof of Mr. Reid's interest in the Club and in his native town. These sketches will be reproduced by photogravure. A page of the Chartulary has been photographed, and will be given in *fac-simile*. Several other illustrations mentioned in our last Report have, at Mr. Cooper's request, been deferred to his Second Volume.

Mr. Reid has also kindly offered to furnish for the work now passing through the press, under the editorship of Principal Geddes and Mr. Duguid, illustrations of the Interior of the Cathedral, and of Bishop Dunbar's Tomb.

With regard to the History of the Family of Burnett a certain amount of progress can be reported. The actual work of

editing has, we fear, been considerably hindered by the long and serious illness of the learned and respected Editor,—whose improving health, however, will be hailed with satisfaction by his friends of the New Spalding Club,—but Mr. James Anderson has executed transcripts of all the documents from the Charter Chest at Crathes desired by the Editor, while two of the earliest deeds and several armorial seals have been photographed with a view to their reproduction.

Acting on a recommendation made by the Committee on Archæology we have gladly minuted our approval of a BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE COUNTIES OF ABERDEEN, BANFF, AND KINCARDINE, as the *tenth* work on the programme of the Club. Mr. A. W. Robertson, who has undertaken the duties of editor, will consult us as to details of arrangement, after his materials have been fully collected.

In the summer of 1886, when the Club was in process of formation, the Convener of this Committee received a letter from the Right Rev. Bishop Macdonald, of Aberdeen, who in the handsomest way offered, as one of the trust proprietors of documents belonging to the Scots Colleges on the Continent, as well as the College at Blairs, to assist the proposed Society in obtaining access to them. The Committee on Church Records, in its Report, duly noted these Records as a most interesting item in the work to be carried out by the Club. It will be recollected that in our last Report it was stated that the Club had been so fortunate as to secure the services of Monsignor Campbell, the learned Rector of the Scots College at Rome, in editing the Register of the College of which he is the honoured head. Since then the Committee have learned that

the Diary of the Scots College at Douai,—a transcript of which is in the possession of one of the Members of Council of the Club, the original being now the property of Mr. Maxwell Witham of Kirkconnel,—is still unedited. With regard to the desirableness of printing this Diary, we may quote the following passage from Sir William Fraser's Report on Mr. Maxwell Witham's MSS., contained in Volume V. of the Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission.

"Special interest attaches itself to the authentic original of the Douai Register. . . . It is to be hoped that some day the former may find some patron generous enough to lay its entire and valuable details before the public. . . . It contains the names of the various alumni of the Scots College, which was successively established at Pont-à-Mousson, Douai, and Louvain, commencing with the entries of students under Father Creichton at Pont-à-Mousson in 1581, and continuing till the close of the year 1772. A short account is given of the character and fortune of each student. Each preceptor added in his turn whatever news he heard of any former pupil of the College."

The question of including the Douai Diary among the issues of the Club first came before this Committee in a communication from the Church Records Committee, in these words:—

"It is desirable that the Records of the Scots College at Douai, in the possession of Mr. Maxwell Witham of Kirkconnel, be edited for the Club, provided the consent of the owner be obtained, and the services of a suitable editor be secured".

The Secretary was thereupon instructed to write to Mr. T.

G. Law, of the Signet Library, Edinburgh (who, we had learned, was desirous that these Records should be brought out by the Scottish History Society, of which he is Secretary), to say that the Douai Diary was so germane to the work which we were promised by Monsignor Campbell, that the Committee were reluctant to give up the hope of possibly printing it at some future time for the use of this Club. Mr. Law, however, is of opinion that the publication of the Diary falls properly within the scope of the Scottish History Society, and beyond that of the New Spalding Club; and that the former Society has established a prior claim.

To obviate the difficulty which has arisen from these conflicting interests, the Committee would recommend that Mr. Maxwell Witham be approached, simultaneously, by the executive of both Societies,—and requested to state whether he would be inclined to favour the idea of allowing the original of this interesting Diary to be made use of,—and, should he be so inclined, then to inform us to which,—if to either,—of the two Societies he would prefer to entrust it.

C. ELPHINSTONE-DALRYMPLE, *C.*

FOURTH REPORT BY THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

(Presented at the Meeting of the Business Committee on Tuesday, 3rd July, 1888.)

THE Editorial Committee are glad to be able to report that the negotiation relative to the printing of the Diary of the Scots College at Douai, referred to in their last statement, has been brought to a highly satisfactory conclusion; the Council of the Scottish History Society having intimated through their Secretary their willingness "to forego their claims to the manuscript . . . in favour of the New Spalding Club". The Committee are desirous to put on record their appreciation of the courteous manner in which they have been met by the Executive of the sister book-club, and their anxiety to secure in the future as in the past the utmost harmony between the two Societies.

All preliminary difficulties having thus been cleared away, the Committee approached Mr. Maxwell Witham, requesting his permission to print the Diary in his possession. To their proposal Mr. Witham most cordially assented, offering to lend the original to the Club for six or eight months, and making only the very modest stipulation that he should receive two copies of the volume when printed.

Mr. Witham stated that the manuscript had recently been examined by the Rev. William Forbes-Leith, S.J., who, as was

known to the Committee, had also made himself familiar with the documents connected with the Scots Colleges now preserved at Blairs. To Mr. Forbes-Leith—the accomplished editor of *The Scots Men-at-Arms in France*, and *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*—the Committee accordingly felt that the editing of the Diary could be more fitly entrusted than to any other; and they are gratified to be able to state that Mr. Forbes-Leith has readily acceded to their request that he should prepare it for publication under the auspices of the New Spalding Club.

The DIARY OF THE SCOTS COLLEGE AT DOUAI, 1581-1772, will therefore rank as the *eleventh* work on the Club's programme. The Committee are confident that in it, and in the companion Register of the Scots College at Rome, now being edited by Monsignor Campbell, the members will possess two works of high interest to the student of Scottish History.

It is with regret that the Committee have again to note the non-appearance of the first volume of the Chartulary of St. Nicholas. The text has been printed off for some time and is in the binder's hands, but the reproduction of Mr. George Reid's drawings, which is being executed in Paris, has involved an unexpected delay. Mr. Reid, however, has now seen proofs of the photogravures, and it is anticipated that the book will be forwarded to members in a very short time. It is satisfactory to be able to add that the issue of the Monograph on the Cathedral of St. Machar will follow very closely on that of the Chartulary, the whole of Principal Geddes' text having been set up.

The Lyon, we are pleased to intimate, is now able to

resume work on his History of the Family of Burnett. Referring to the transcripts from the Crathes Charter Chest, he writes: "Some of the letters, particularly Duncan Burnett's, will, I hope, greatly contribute to the human interest of the book, giving curious glimpses of the private life and character of the first Baronet and his uncles".

C. ELPHINSTONE DALRYMPLE, *C.*

SECOND REPORT BY THE FAMILY HISTORY COMMITTEE.

(Presented at the Meeting of the Business Committee on Tuesday, 3rd July, 1888.)

THE Committee have now to report that they have fully considered the remit from the Business Committee of January 26th, 1887, regarding their Report, viz.: "This Report was considered and the following deliverance adopted on it:—'That the Report be approved of, and that the matter be remitted back to the Committee with instructions further to consider the whole subject and to report to a future meeting of the Business Committee what steps they recommend should be taken to carry out the object in view'". This object was explained in the Report referred to, and the Committee are of opinion that the work now before them lies in two directions:

1st, To assist, as far as in their power, the compilation of histories of some of our leading Families. It is believed that several of these are already in contemplation, and they must be of much interest where events of the times referred to in them are specially described. The Committee consider that they will be able to find interesting materials for such works.

2nd, To collect material for volumes of Miscellanies. This the Committee believe to be, perhaps, the most important work they can undertake, and they specially wish to see

it successfully carried out, as such volumes carry with them a considerable amount of interest. This interest would also be much enhanced, if the volumes were illustrated by representations of persons and places that are principally referred to—an addition which, it is believed, could in many cases be attained.

In the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission remarks are frequently made upon the value of particular documents, which, though not exactly valuable for family history, yet are most suitable for publication in order to illustrate the general condition of the country at particular periods. The various documents of this class that are mentioned in the Reports referring to this part of Scotland, as being worthy of publication, would alone go far to form volumes of Miscellanies. It would be very desirable to have some of these taken in hand by competent editors, and from time to time given to the Club. Even in their variety of material such volumes would be of great interest and value in promoting the objects of historical research.

The Committee further suggest that the attention of the Club be called to the fact that many curious and valuable collections are lying in private hands and must be rapidly disappearing in the changes and chances of time. Many of these bear upon the past condition of the country and upon the fortunes of families and individuals. They are often the work of men who had a taste for archæological studies, and have been collected from sources that are now closed for ever. The present holders of such papers are possibly not fully aware of their value and interest, or do not at least feel called upon

II.—Many old Rentals of the Earldom of Aboyne, the Barony of Birse, &c., &c., of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, containing much of interest concerning the Agricultural History of that period.

III.—Correspondence bearing upon the political and family history of those centuries, carried on by the Aboyne family.

IV.—A large number of miscellaneous documents, probably some thousand in number, which will require careful examination and arrangement before they can be made available for the purposes of the Club. Many of these, doubtless, bear on the social condition of the country in times past.

Lord Huntly has expressed his willingness to place from time to time any portion of his papers in the hands of the Club, as may be most convenient for their being dealt with.

The extensive collection of family documents which Lord Forbes has, in the same liberal and public-spirited way, placed at the service of the Club, has been examined by the Convener of this Committee, assisted by Mr. Dalrymple and by the Secretary of the Club. It also is of very great interest, and has been noticed by the Historical MSS. Commission in their Report No. 2. It comprises :—

I.—Charters and title-deeds of lands. They are curious and interesting, and many of them were printed for the Old Spalding Club.

II.—Rentals of the territory owned by the Lords Forbes, notably that of William, seventh Lord Forbes, of dates running back to 1552.

III.—A MS. History of the Family of Forbes entitled, "Memoirs of the House of Forbes" down to 1542; also a MS. entitled, "Historical Narration of the Life and Conversation of John Forbes, known as Brother Archangelus, of the Order of Capuchins," one of the family who, having become a Roman Catholic, died in a Monastery abroad. His life contains many curious particulars.

IV.—Two MS. genealogies of the Family of Forbes. One of these comes down to the seventeenth Lord Forbes.

V.—Two copies of Lumsden's "History of the House of Forbes"—one printed and one in MS.

VI.—A vast mass of miscellaneous and unarranged papers. Among these there no doubt are many that contain matters illustrative of the social condition of the country in former ages, and are similar, in this respect, not only to the collection at Aboyne Castle, but also to the accumulations that are usually to be found in the charter-rooms of old and influential families.

The charters and titles (Forbes, No. I.) were fully calendared by the late Mr. Cosmo Innes about fifty years ago, and the book containing his schedule, entitled, "Registrum Honoris de Forbes 1271-1756," is among the materials placed at our disposal. As at Aboyne, however, a very large number of documents require examination and arrangement before they can be dealt with for literary purposes.

There can be little doubt that a large amount of material that is suitable for the objects of the Club exists in each of these collections, and the Committee beg to call the attention of

the Business Committee to the advisability of having this material dealt with at an early date, as it is desirable that the Club should not seem, by any unnecessary delay, to fail in appreciation of the promptitude with which these collections have been placed at the service of the Club by the noble owners.

The Committee have to acknowledge the receipt from Mr. Cramond, Cullen, of a most carefully executed transcript of an Inventory of Lady Seafield's papers at Cullen House; Lady Seafield having most kindly acceded to an application made to her in this matter by the Convener of this Committee. The Inventory has a very full Index of names and places added to it by Mr. Cramond, and is of much value and interest. The Committee would suggest that the thanks of the Council of the Club be accorded to Lady Seafield for her kindness in giving every facility for the compiling of this Inventory; to Lord Huntly and Lord Forbes for so readily and fully giving access to their collections; and to Mr. Cramond for his time and care in making the transcript of the Cullen House Inventory.

J. ALLARDYCE, *C.*

SECOND REPORT BY THE BURGH RECORDS COMMITTEE.

(Presented at the Meeting of the Business Committee on Tuesday, 2nd October, 1888.)

THE Burgh Records Committee, in supplement of their previous Report, beg to state that the Sub-Committee of their number appointed to examine and report on the MS. volumes of Extracts from the Sheriff-Court Records of Aberdeen made by the late Mr. John G. Leslie, Sheriff-Clerk-Depute, have submitted the following Report, which has been approved of by the Committee :

"In terms of the remit made to us by the Burgh and Judicial Records Committee of the New Spalding Club on 11th January last, we have carefully examined the twenty-one MS. volumes compiled by the late Mr. John Grant Leslie, now in possession of the Clerk to the Commissioners of Supply of Aberdeenshire.

"We are of opinion that the material contained in these volumes, with one exception, is not in a shape suitable for publication by the Club, and that it is not in itself capable of being put into such shape. That exception is the volume containing a Report on the Parochial Registers of Aberdeenshire preceding the year 1880, and the information contained in it has now been otherwise rendered available to the public by the Register House publications, &c. We, therefore, cannot

recommend the Club to take any steps towards printing these compilations. The volumes contain a considerable amount of information which would be useful to an original investigator, but the whole of the information contained in them is extracted from the Records under the charge of the Sheriff-Clerk, a full Inventory of which has been prepared, and is submitted along with this Report.

(Signed) DAVID LITTLEJOHN.
ALEXANDER KEMLO."

The Committee are making efforts to obtain complete Inventories of the various Sheriff-Court and Burgh Records in the North of Scotland, with a view of utilising the information for the purposes of the Club.

Inventories of the following Records have already been obtained :

SHERIFF-COURT RECORDS.

1. Kincardine.
2. Aberdeen.
3. Banff.
4. Moray.
5. Nairn.
6. Shetland.

BURGH RECORDS.

1. Dundee.
2. Montrose.
3. Aberdeen.
4. Old Aberdeen.
5. Kintore.
6. Inverurie.
7. Banff.
8. Cullen.
9. Elgin.
10. Forres.
11. Nairn.

The Committee are in communication with the authorities of the other Northern Counties and Burghs with a view of obtaining Inventories of their Sheriff-Court and Municipal Records.

The Committee are glad to state that Mr. William Cramond, Cullen, one of their number, has undertaken the work of making a digest of the Inventories, and reporting as to the best method of making the information contained in them serviceable for the Club.

P. M. CRAN, *C.*

SECOND REPORT BY THE CHURCH RECORDS COMMITTEE.

(*Presented at the Meeting of the Business Committee on Tuesday, 2nd October*, 1888.)

THE Church Records Committee are glad to report that the hope expressed in their last statement, that something might be done towards publishing the MS. Records of the Scots Colleges on the Continent, is now likely to be realised. Monsignor Campbell, Rector of the Scots College at Rome, has agreed to edit for the Club the Register of the College of which he is the learned head. Mr. Maxwell-Witham of Kirkconnel has courteously given the Club permission to print the Diary of the Scots College at Douai, 1581-1772, now his property, and mentioned by the Historical MSS. Commission as of special interest, and highly worthy of publication. The Club have been fortunate in securing as Editor one so well qualified as the Rev. William Forbes-Leith, S.J.

The Church Records Committee, having authority granted by the Business Committee to incur certain expenses in obtaining information as to the Records in their charge, from Parish Clergymen, Session, Presbytery, and Synod Clerks, and others within the three Synods of Angus and Mearns, Aberdeen, and Moray, issued on 26th December, 1887, a circular respectfully requesting answers to the following queries:

1. What is the name of the Synod, Presbytery, Session, or Congregation to which your replies refer?

2. How many volumes of Ecclesiastical Records are in your possession?

3. What are the dates of the commencement and termination of each of these volumes?

4. What are the dates between which entries have been omitted, or made with irregularity?

5. The Committee will be obliged by your mentioning anything in the Contents of the Volumes in your possession which seems to you interesting, and suitable for the purposes of the Committee.

6. Are there any other documents of the nature indicated in your possession, or are you aware of the existance of any documents in your neighbourhood, which are non-official, and may contain material suitable for the purposes of the Committee?

Subjoined is a synopsis of the replies received up to date:

SYNOD OF ANGUS AND MEARNS. *(No reply from Synod Clerk.)*

Presbytery of Arbroath. Replies from Presbytery Clerk, and from parishes of Arbirlot, Arbroath, Carmyllie, Kirkden, Lunan, St. Ninian's (Arbroath).

Presbytery of Brechin. *(No reply from Presbytery Clerk.)* Replies from parishes of Brechin, Dun, Edzell, Farnell, Lochlee, Montrose (Old Church, second charge).

Presbytery of Dundee. Replies from Presbytery Clerk, and from parishes of Chapelshade (Dundee), Clepington (Dundee), Liff and Benvie, Lochee, Lundie and Fowlis, Mains and Strathmartin, Maryfield (Dundee), Monikie, Murroes, St. Luke's (Lochee), Wallacetown (Dundee).

Presbytery of Fordoun. Replies from Presbytery Clerk, and from parishes of Arbuthnott, Benholm, Bervie, Fettercairn, Fetteresso, Garvock, Kinneff and Caterline, Laurencekirk, Marykirk, St. Cyrus.

Presbytery of Forfar. *(No reply from Presbytery Clerk.)* Replies from parishes of Clova, Inverarity, St. James' (Forfar), Tannadice.

Presbytery of Meigle. *(No reply from Presbytery Clerk.)* Replies from parishes of Ardler, Kilry, Meigle, Newtyle, Ruthven.

SYNOD OF ABERDEEN. Reply from Synod Clerk.

Presbytery of Aberdeen. *(No reply from Presbytery Clerk.)* Replies from parishes of Fintray, East (Aberdeen), Greyfriars (Aberdeen), Portlethen, Rubislaw (Aberdeen), St. Clement's (Aberdeen), St. George's-in-the-West (Aberdeen), Skene, West (Aberdeen).

Presbytery of Alford. Replies from Presbytery Clerk, and from parishes of Alford, Auchindoir, Clatt, Glenbucket, Keig, Kennethmont, Kildrummy, Leochel-Cushnie, Strathdon, Tough, Tullynessle and Forbes.

Presbytery of Deer. Replies from Presbytery Clerk, and from

parishes of Blackhill, Crimond, Kininmonth, Longside, Lonmay, Maud, Peterhead (East Church), Pitsligo, Tyrie.

Presbytery of Ellon. *(No reply from Presbytery Clerk.)* Replies from parishes of Ellon and Slains.

Presbytery of Fordyce. Replies from Presbytery Clerk, and from parishes of Banff, Boyndie, Cullen, Enzie, Fordyce, Rathven.

Presbytery of Garioch. *(No reply from Presbytery Clerk.)* Replies from parishes of Bourtie, Inverurie, Keithhall and Kinkell, Kemnay, Leslie, Meldrum, Monymusk, Oyne.

Presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil. Replies from Presbytery Clerk, and from parishes of Glenmuick, Kincardine O'Neil, Logie-Coldstone, Lumphanan, Torphins, Tarland.

Presbytery of Turriff. Replies from Presbytery Clerk, and from parishes of Alvah, Auchterless, Gamrie, King-Edward, Millbrex, Turriff.

SYNOD OF MORAY. Reply from Synod Clerk.

Presbytery of Aberlour. Replies from Presbytery Clerk, and from parishes of Aberlour, Boharm, Elchies, Glenlivet, Inveravon, Knockando.

Presbytery of Abernethy. *(No replies.)*

Presbytery of Elgin. Replies from Presbytery Clerk, and from parishes of Birnie, Burghead, Speymouth, Urquhart.

Presbytery of Forres. *(No reply from Presbytery Clerk.)* Replies from parishes of Dallas, Edenkillie, Rafford.

Presbytery of Inverness. *(No reply from Presbytery Clerk.)* Replies from parishes of Daviot and Dunlichity, Moy and Dalarossie.

Presbytery of Nairn. Replies from Presbytery Clerk, and from parishes of Auldearn, Cawdor, Nairn.

Presbytery of Strathbogie. Replies from Presbytery Clerk, and from parishes of Cairney, Gartly, Newmill, Rothiemay.

Circulars were also sent to the Episcopal Incumbents within the same district, and replies were promptly received from most of these; but the materials in their hands are meagre, and only of recent date.

The Committee were disappointed at not obtaining answers from a larger proportion of the Presbyterian Clergymen. On comparing the returns received, with the details regarding Session and other Records incidentally given in Turnbull's *Memoranda of the State of the Parochial Registers of Scotland*, 1846, and in the *Detailed List of the Old Parochial Registers of Scotland*, 1872, they were surprised to find, in many cases, such serious discrepancies, as to force upon them the conclusion that, in order to make the returns reliable throughout, it would be necessary to have them collated both with the local records and with those now in H.M. Register House, by competent persons approved of by the Club.

In connection with this proposal, they beg to acknowledge with gratitude the services rendered or offered by several gentlemen. Mr. Cramond, Cullen, whose name is guaranteed for thorough work, has already, in the interests of the Club,

gone over the records in the Banffshire parishes. Mr. John A. Henderson, Aberdeen, has examined those of the Presbytery of Aberdeen. Thus, the returns for these districts, though the answers to the circulars look meagre, may be considered as virtually complete. Tenders of assistance have also been received from the Rev. John Brown, Bervie; Dr. A. C. Cameron, Fettercairn; Mr. James Davidson, Kirriemuir; Rev. Alexander Fridge, Lunan; Rev. Dr. Gammack, Aberdeen; Mr. A. Hutcheson, Dundee; Mr. John Mair, Ellon; Sheriff Rampini, Elgin; Mr. James Spence, Peterhead; and the Rev. James Thomson, Arbroath.

It is believed that when the returns have been thus corrected and augmented, the Committee will be able to give to the Club a body of statistics of great interest and value, never hitherto made public in a complete and classified form.

JAMES MOIR, *C.*

SECOND REPORT BY THE COUNCIL.

(Approved at the Second Annual General Meeting of the Club on Tuesday, 30th October, 1888.)

It is the agreeable duty of the Council to report that the affairs of the New Spalding Club continue in a prosperous condition. Not only has the full complement of 500 members been maintained, but the list of candidates for admission is still a lengthy one, and further applications are being received from time to time.

Since the last meeting of the Club, two volumes have been issued to members:—

I.—Memorials of the Family of Skene of Skene. Edited by William Forbes Skene, D.C.L., H.M. Historiographer for Scotland. With reproductions of sketches by his father, the late James Skene, Esq. of Rubislaw.

II.—Cartularium Ecclesiæ S. Nicholai Aberdonensis. Vol. I. Edited by the Rev. James Cooper. With reproductions of sketches by George Reid, R.S.A.

The Council regret that the appearance of these volumes was unduly delayed. In each case the detention was due to the very considerable time required for the reproduction, by photographic processes, of the illustrations. It is, however, confidently expected that, from the experience thus gained, the issue of future books will be more regular.

The printing of the Monograph on the Heraldic Ceiling of the Cathedral Church of St. Machar, by Principal Geddes and Mr. Duguid, is now approaching completion, and members may expect to receive the work before the end of the present year. The heraldic portion, having undergone the scrutiny of Mr. Burnett, Lyon King of Arms, may be relied on as in all respects trustworthy.

As soon as the Monograph is out of the printer's hands, the first volume of Selections from the Records of Marischal College and University, the MS. of which is in a completed state, will go to press. In deference to the wish expressed by many members of the Club, every Latin deed printed in this work will be accompanied by either a full or an abridged translation.

The outlook for future years is of a highly satisfactory kind, for, as members may be reminded, the following works have been approved by the Editorial Committee, and are now in progress in the hands of their respective editors:—

1. Collections for a History of the Shires of Angus and Mearns. Edited by the Rev. James Gammack, LL.D.
2. The Folklore and Place Names of the North-Eastern Province. Edited by the Rev. Walter Gregor, LL.D.
3. A History of the Family of Burnett. Edited by George Burnett, LL.D., Lyon King of Arms.
4. The Register of the Scots College at Rome. Edited by Monsignor Campbell, D.D., Rector of the College.
5. The Diary of the Scots College at Douai. Edited by the Rev. William Forbes-Leith, S.J.

6. A Bibliography of the Shires of Aberdeen, Banff, and Kincardine. Edited by Mr. A. W. Robertson, Librarian of the Public Library, Aberdeen.

7. A Calendar of the Correspondence in the Town House of Aberdeen. Edited by Mr. A. M. Munro.

8. Hector Boece's "Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen": reprinted from the edition of 1522; with translation and addenda illustrative of the Lives of the later pre-Reformation Bishops. Edited by Mr. James Moir, Rector of the Grammar School, Aberdeen.

9. Selections from the MS. Biographical Collections of the Rev. Robert Wodrow, in the possession of the University of Glasgow. Edited by the Rev. John Christie, D.D., Professor of Church History in the University of Aberdeen.

10. The Chartulary of the Church of St. Nicholas. Vol. II. Edited by the Rev. James Cooper.

11. Selections from the Records of Marischal College and University. Vol. II. Edited by the Secretary.

Other works in contemplation, but not yet formally approved by the Editorial Committee are—

1. A volume of Miscellanies.
2. The Annals of Banff.
3. A History of the Family of Forbes.
4. A History of the Family of Gordon.
5. "The Book of Bon-Accord," revised and enlarged.
6. The Records of the Friars of Aberdeen.

Apart from the literary work already executed or now in progress, the Council can point with satisfaction to the efforts made by their special Committees in furtherance of the objects for which they were appointed.

The Family History Committee have acquired for the Club, through the kind permission of the Countess of Seafield, a transcript of the Inventory of the Writs of the Ancient Regality of Ogilvie (1405-1705). The Marquis of Huntly and Lord Forbes have also, in the most courteous and liberal manner, put their extensive collections of family papers at the disposal of the Society.

The Burgh Records Committee have made considerable progress in drawing up an exhaustive Inventory of the Municipal and Judicial Records of the whole North of Scotland, which, when complete, will form a convenient work of reference.

The Church Records Committee, towards the close of 1887, issued a circular to Session, Presbytery, and Synod Clerks in the three North-Eastern Synods, inviting information as to the Records under their care. The replies received were somewhat disappointing, the returns in many cases being given in so unsystematic a manner as to render necessary a subsequent collation of them with the original documents by some competent persons approved by the Club. Several members have kindly volunteered their services, and the Council look forward to obtaining an Inventory which, as respects the district forming the sphere of the Club's operations, will form a valuable adjunct to the *Detailed List of Parochial Registers of Scotland*, printed in 1872 by the Registrar-General.

The Archæological Committee have also issued a circular relative to the Folklore, Place Names, and Bibliographical investigations that are being carried out by Dr. Gregor and Mr. Robertson. This Committee have also strongly recommended the preparation of a volume dealing with the History of Agriculture in the North-East of Scotland, and the Council are in hopes that, with the approval of the Editorial Committee, one of their number may be induced to undertake the editing.

The Reference Library, which it was thought desirable to establish for the use of members, has already attained considerable dimensions. Several members have presented works of genealogical and historical interest, and the Antiquarian Societies of London, Edinburgh, Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Christiania exchange their Proceedings for the publications of the Club. The Council wish to express their grateful sense of the courtesy of the Public Library Committee in permitting the use of the Committee Room for the accommodation of the books belonging to the Club.

It is, of course, inevitable that the ranks of such a society as the New Spalding Club should be gradually thinned by death. The Council have, with regret, to note the loss, during the past year, of an exceptionally large number of members, viz. :—The Earl of Seafield ; Sir Francis W. Grant, Bart., a member of the Council ; Dr. Michie F. Anderson, Newburgh ; Mr. John Clerk Brodie, W.S., Edinburgh, an original member of the old Spalding Club ; Mr. Robert Chambers, Edinburgh ; Mr. William Davidson, Aberdeen ; Mr. John Duncan, Aberdeen ; Colonel Farquharson of Invercauld ; Mr. R. B. Horne, Aberdeen ; Dr. H. Haldane, Ballater ; Rev. William A. Keith, Burham Vicarage ;

Rev. John Watt, Strathdon; Dr. John Wight, Aberdeen; Dr. Charles E. Wilson, H.M.I.S., Edinburgh; and Dr. J. W. Winchester, Edinburgh. It is gratifying to be able to add that in the majority of these cases the representatives of the deceased members have applied for admission to the Club. The Council have thought it not inconsistent with Rule 7 to admit such representatives at once, all other vacancies being filled up in accordance with priority of application.

The Treasurer will submit a statement of the finances of the Club, which will be printed, together with this Report, in an Appendix to the next volume issued to members.

GEORGE GRUB, *C.*

REPORT BY THE HONORARY TREASURER.

STATEMENT from the Accounts, Charge and Discharge, of the intromissions had by Mr. P. H. CHALMERS, advocate, Aberdeen, as Honorary Treasurer of the NEW SPALDING CLUB, with the funds of the Club, for the period from 11th November, 1886, to 30th October, 1888.

THE CHARGE.

Subscriptions for year 1887—				
500 original members, ...	£525	0	0	
13 present members, taking the places of others, dead or resigned,	13	13	0	
Compositions for life membership—				
3 members, ...	31	10	0	
Subscriptions for year 1888—				
481 members, ...	505	1	0	
Subscriptions for year 1889—				
4 members, ...	4	4	0	
Bank Interest, ...	8	11	4	
Amount of the Charge, .				£1087 19 4

THE DISCHARGE.

I. MISCELLANEOUS ACCOUNTS PAID.

1886.				
Nov. 19. *Banffshire Journal*, . . .	0	4	0	
1887.				
Jan. 24. *Dundee Advertiser*, . . .	0	3	6	
Forward, ...	£0	7	6	

	Brought forward, . .	£0	7	6
Mar. 21.	Edmond & Spark (preliminary expenses), . . .	23	12	4½
	Imperial Hotel, . . .	1	11	6
May 20.	*Aberdeen Journal*, . . .	2	14	3
May 21.	*Daily Free Press*, . . .	0	15	0
„ 22.	*Scotsman*, ...	0	6	0
„ 24.	W. Jolly & Sons, . . .	0	8	0
July 9.	Grosvenor, Chater, & Co., London (per Edmond & Spark), ...	67	10	10
„	Edmond & Spark, . . .	2	6	5
„	*Daily Free Press*, . . .	1	17	6
„	W. Jolly & Sons, . . .	0	2	6
„	Milne & Hutchison, . .	2	15	9
„ 11.	*Elgin Courant*, . . .	0	5	0
Sept. 27.	John Annan, Edinburgh, .	1	11	9
	Set Spalding Club Books (per Edmond & Spark), . .	32	0	0
Oct. 11.	James Garvie & Sons, . .	19	17	6
Nov. 19.	Milne & Hutchison, . .	4	2	0
„ 21.	T. G. Stevenson, Edinburgh, .	0	6	0
„ 25.	Edmond & Spark, . . .	4	5	7½
	D. Wyllie & Son, . . .	1	16	3
	A. Brown & Co., . . .	0	9	0
1888.				
Jan. 18.	Rev. Walter Macleod, Edinburgh, ...	8	10	6
Feb. 3.	J. Malcolm Bulloch, . .	2	2	0
„ 4.	Grosvenor, Chater, & Co. (per Edmond & Spark), . .	59	1	9
Mar. 9.	James Anderson, Bridge of Don,	15	15	0
	Milne & Hutchison, . .	78	4	6
Apr. 13.	J. Farquhar Thomson, . .	26	5	0
May 18.	James Garvie & Sons, . .	0	8	6
	Forward, ...	£359	8	0

		Brought forward, . .	£359	8	0		
May 18.		Robert Brown, Inverurie, .	0	18	0		
„		Milne & Hutchison, . .	3	1	0		
„		A. Gibb & Co., . . .	18	1	6		
„		T. & R. Annan & Sons, Glasgow,	20	15	0		
„		Edmond & Spark, . . .	41	6	7½		
„		Grosvenor, Chater, & Co. (per Edmond & Spark), . .	37	18	0		
„		A. King & Co., . . .	81	11	10		
„	23.	*Aberdeen Journal*, . . .	0	8	0		
Sept.	6.	T. & R. Annan & Sons, . .	10	0	0		
„	28.	The Convener of Church Records Committee, . .	0	17	2		
Oct.	5.	James Anderson, . . .	13	3	3		
„	12.	Thomson & Duncan, . .	8	5	0		
		Boussod, Valadon, & Co., London, . . . , .	28	13	0		
„	19.	Edmond & Spark, . . .	34	14	10		
		Aberdeen Journal, . . .	0	13	9		
						£659	14 11½

II. SECRETARY AND HONORARY TREASURER.

Secretary's postages, &c., to 31st December, 1886, ...	1	15	2			
Secretary's salary, 1886-87, . . .	26	5	0			
Secretary's postages, &c., 1st January to 12th October, 1887, . . .	4	13	11			
Hon. Treasurer's postages, exchange on cheques, &c., to 12th October, 1887,	3	13	5			
Secretary's salary, 1887-88, . . .	26	5	0			
Secretary's postages, &c., 13th October, 1887, to 27th October, 1888, .	4	15	10			
Hon. Treasurer's postages, &c., 13th October, 1887, to 27th October, 1888,	2	12	4½			
				70	0	8½
Forward, ...				£729	15	8

Brought forward, ...		£729 15 8

III. ASSETS AS AT 30TH OCTOBER, 1888.

Three Deposit Receipts with Town and County Bank, Limited, dated 26th October, 1888, for £100 each, .	£300 0 0	
Balance at Credit of Treasurer's Account, current with Town and County Bank, Limited, ex interest from 30th January, 1888, . . .	56 5 1	
Balance in hands of Treasurer, . .	1 18 7	
		358 3 8
Amount of the Discharge, equal to the Charge, .		£1087 19 4

P. H. CHALMERS. *Hon. Treasurer.*

ABERDEEN, *30th October*, 1888.

The foregoing account has been framed from the annual accounts prepared by the Hon. Treasurer, audited by us, and approved of.

JAMES AUGS. SINCLAIR, C.A., *Auditor.*

GEORGE COOPER, C.A., *Auditor.*

ABERDEEN, *7th November*, 1888.

Note 1.—At the close of the Account the Membership of the Club stands as follows:—

Life Members, ...	3
Members that have paid subcription for 1888, ...	481
Members in arrears, ...	16*
Total, ...	500

* Since the account was closed, eight of these have paid.

Note 2.—The Miscellaneous Disbursements above are allocated as follows:—

I. PRELIMINARY EXPENDITURE.

Advertising,	£2	4	0			
Printing circulars,	10	17	6			
Printing 800 copies of Report of Inaugural Meeting,	3	7	6			
Postages,	9	15	2½			
Minute-Books and Stationery,	5	16	7			
Use of room, Imperial Hotel,	1	11	6			
				£33	12	3½

II. "MEMORIALS OF FAMILY OF SKENE."

Paper (44 lbs. per ream), 328 pp.,	41	7	6			
Printing, per estimate, by Milne and Hutchison,	65	12	0			
Printing: corrections and extras,	12	12	6			
Illustrations: photographing,	2	9	9			
" A. Gibb & Co.,	18	1	6			
" T. & R. Annan & Sons,	20	15	0			
Indexing: Mr. J. Malcolm Bulloch,	2	2	0			
Transcripts: Rev. Mr. Macleod,	6	14	0			
Binding 525 copies: Edmond & Spark,	21	17	6			
" brass stamps,	2	8	3			
Packing,	2	3	9			
Carriage,	10	7	7½			
				206	11	4½

III. "ST. NICHOLAS CHARTULARY." VOL. I.

Paper (44 lbs.), 324 pp.,	40	17	6			
Printing, per estimate, by A. King & Co.,	55	13	9			
" corrections and extras,	25	18	1			
Illustrations: Boussod. Valadon, & Co.,	28	13	0			
" Thomson & Duncan,	8	5	0			
Forward,	£159	7	4	£240	3	8

Brought forward, . .	£159	7	4	£240	3	8
Sub-editing: Mr. J. Farquhar Thomson, .	26	5	0			
Binding 523 copies: Edmond & Spark, .	21	15	10			
„ brass stamps, ...	0	12	6			
Packing, ...	2	3	7			
Carriage, ...	9	0	7			
				219	4	10

IV. "CHARTULARY." VOL. II.

Paper in stock, 20 reams (44 lbs.), ...				34	7	7

V. "CEILING OF ST. MACHAR'S CATHEDRAL."

Paper, 17½ reams (54 lbs.), ...	37	18	0			
Illustrations: T. & R. Annan & Sons, . .	10	0	0			
				47	18	0

VI. "RECORDS OF MARISCHAL COLLEGE."

Transcripts: Rev. Mr. Macleod, . . .	1	16	6			
„ Mr. James Anderson, . .	13	3	3			
				14	19	9

VII. "FAMILY OF BURNETT."

Transcripts: Mr. James Anderson, ...				15	15	0

VIII. CLUB LIBRARY.

Book-case, ...	19	17	6			
„ removing, ...	0	8	6			
Set of Spalding Club publications, . .	32	0	0			
Hist. MSS. Commission Reports, . . .	1	13	9			
Other books, ...	0	8	6			
Bleau's Map of District, ...	0	10	6			
				54	18	9
Forward, ...				£627	7	7

Brought forward, ...				£627	7	7

IX. CHURCH RECORDS COMMITTEE.

Printing 400 circulars, &c., ...	3	1	0			
Postages, ...	2	13	7			
Convener's outlays, ...	0	17	2			
				6	11	9

X. SUNDRIES.

Dandy, ...	10	0	0			
Die of Arms for book covers, ...	1	1	0			
Printing reports and circulars, ...	7	19	6			
Stationery, &c., ...	6	15	1½			
				25	15	7½
Amount of Miscellaneous Disbursements as above,.				£659	14	11½

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